

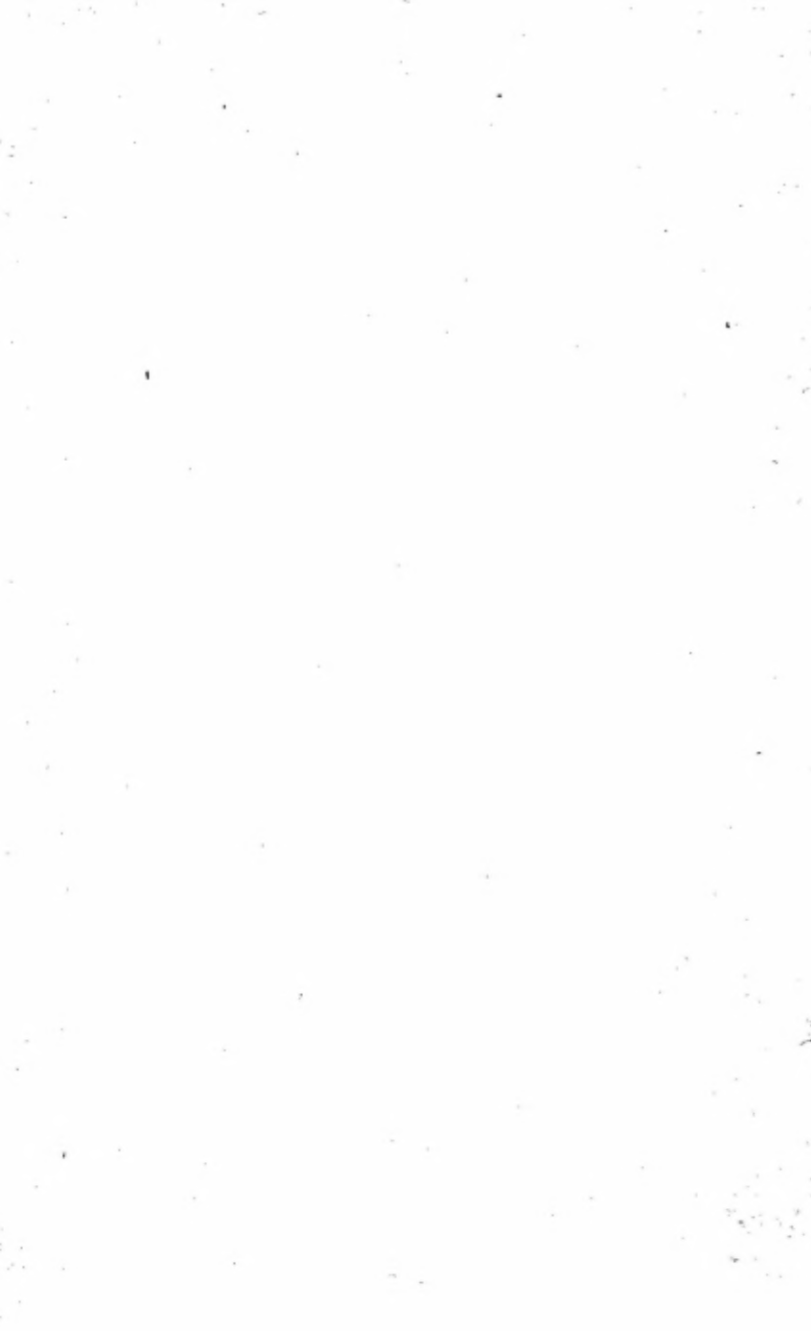
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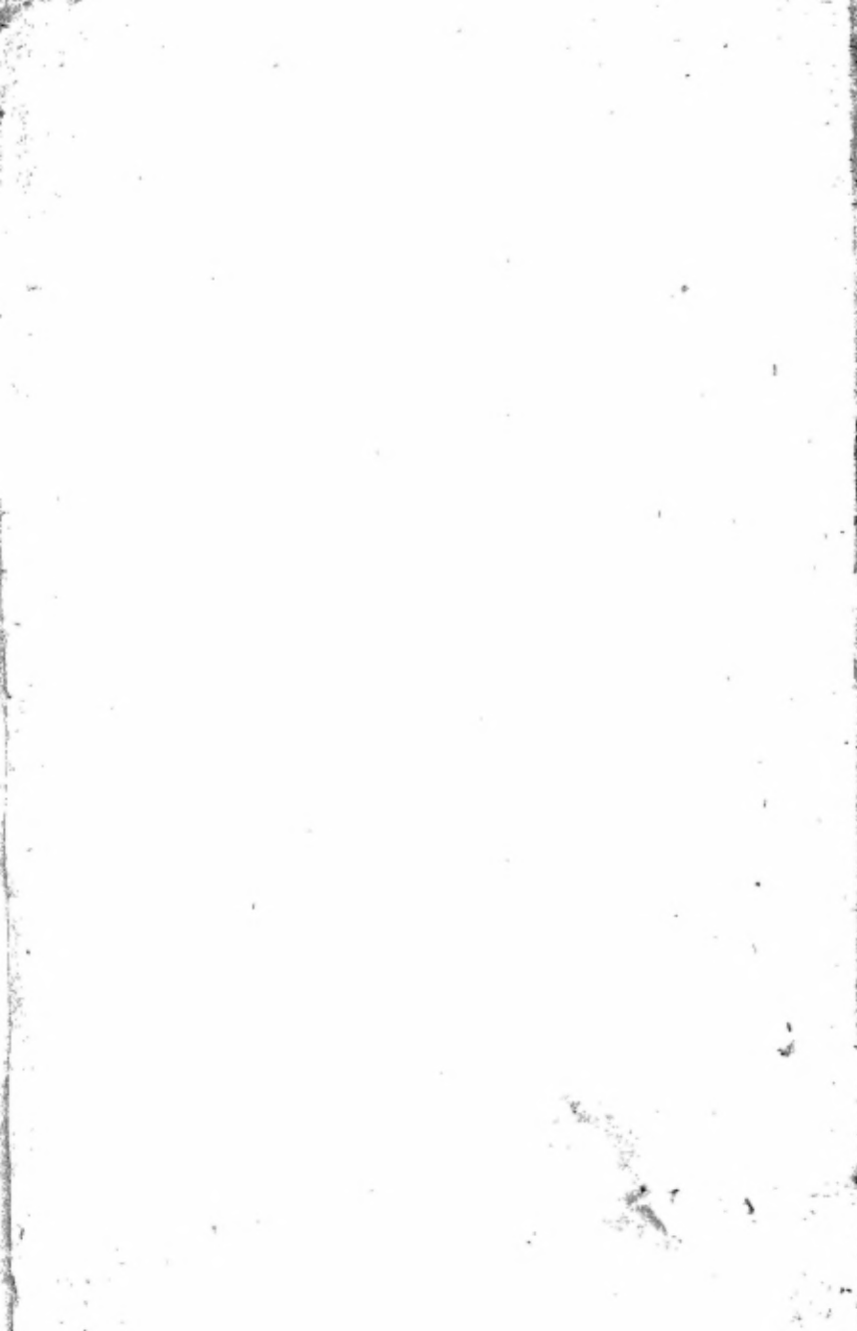
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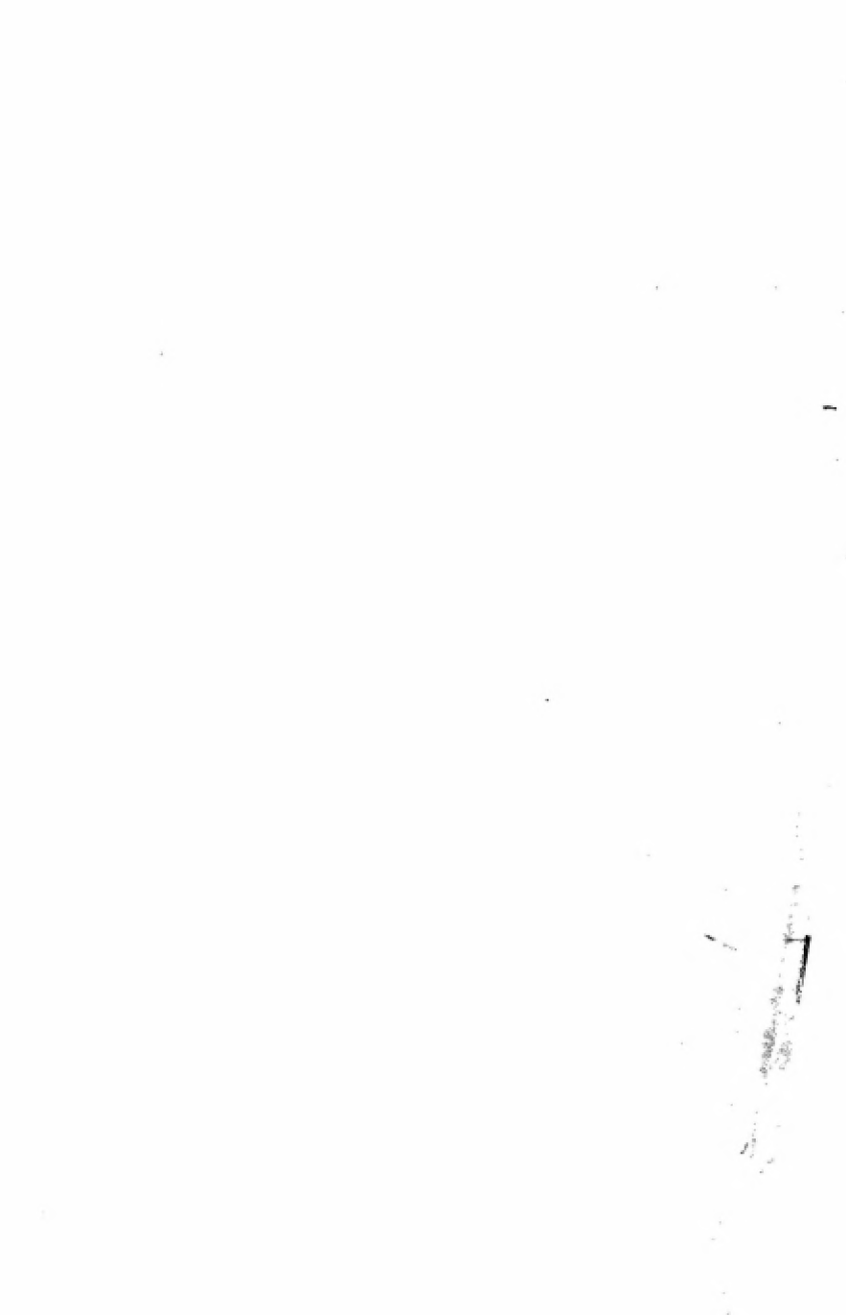
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D.G.A. 79





FOOD AND DRINKS
IN
ANCIENT INDIA



FOOD AND DRINKS IN ANCIENT INDIA

(FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO C. 1200 A.D.)

WATERGATE #111-201

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By

OM PRAKASH

With a Foreword by

Dr. B. CH. CHHABRA

JOINT DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN INDIA
NEW DELHI

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PREFACE

This monograph on Food and Drinks in Ancient India is mainly a study of the food habits of Indians from the earliest times to C. 1200 A.D. in which I have tried to reconstruct the picture on the basis of all available sources—literary, epigraphic and archaeological. This was originally written as a thesis for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Delhi and later approved by it.

I am profoundly grateful to Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Head of the Department of Indology, Benares Hindu University, who advised me to undertake this work. To my *Itibāsaguru*, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, and my supervisor, Dr. Dasharatha Sharma, I am highly indebted for their kind guidance and advice. I have received help and encouragement from various sources, from colleagues, as well as scholars engaged in research work. Special mention should be made here also of late Dr. P. K. Gode, who ungrudgingly supplied me with all the information I asked for.

Dr. V. S. Agrawala had kindly agreed to write a Foreword to this monograph but unfortunately I could not have the privilege of it on account of his serious illness. When the publication of the book was nearing completion, I approached Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Joint Director-General of Archaeology in India, with a request to write a few words and I am profoundly grateful to him for the favour he has done me by contributing a Foreword to this book.

I am also grateful to Sri L. G. Parab, Librarian, Central Archaeological Library, New Delhi, for kindly allowing me the opportunity to consult the books on the subject in his Library. To my Publishers, Messrs Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, my thanks are due for the great interest they have taken in the book and the nice style in which they have brought it out. I have also received the fullest co-operation from the Printers, The Allahabad Law Journal Press Ltd., Allahabad.

Finally, I would be failing in my duty if I did not acknow-

ledge the constant encouragement and inspiration which I received from my father Sri Durga Prasad whose saintly life of self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of education will always serve as a guiding star to me.

KIRORIMAL COLLEGE,
DELHI UNIVERSITY

OM PRAKASH

FOREWORD

The most obvious is least noticed. Eyes refuse to see the nearest. In history, one is prone to probe into weighty problems concerning rise and fall of empires, wars and treaties between nations, policies and principles behind constitutions, and the like. Ordinary events are taken for granted. They are often brushed aside as something unworthy of serious attention.

'Food is life' अन्नं वै प्राणा : expound the *Upanisads*, and 'All actions stem from food' सर्वारम्भा ओदन-प्रसव-मूला : says an adage; but how often does one think of what gives life and activates, in terms of history or even otherwise ?

Old and narrow conception of history having given place to a new and all-embracing one, historians of today are venturing upon untrodden fields and are bringing into limelight what hitherto lay dim and obscure, thereby broadening knowledge and enriching history. The present disquisition of Dr. Om Prakash is indeed a venture of that description.

He confines his enquiry to *Food and Drinks in Ancient India* and goes as far back as the material available could take him. Life on earth began with hunt for food, and continues as such, with endless variety and variation that certainly make a history worth studying.

Dr. Om Prakash has presented the results of his limited but intensive investigation in a very readable manner. He has marshalled the data in a way at once instructive and interesting. The proof of the pudding lies in the eating : the reader is invited to eat it.

B. CH. CHHABRA

NEW DELHI,
Thursday, June 22, 1961.

*Joint Director-General of Archaeology
in India, New Delhi.*

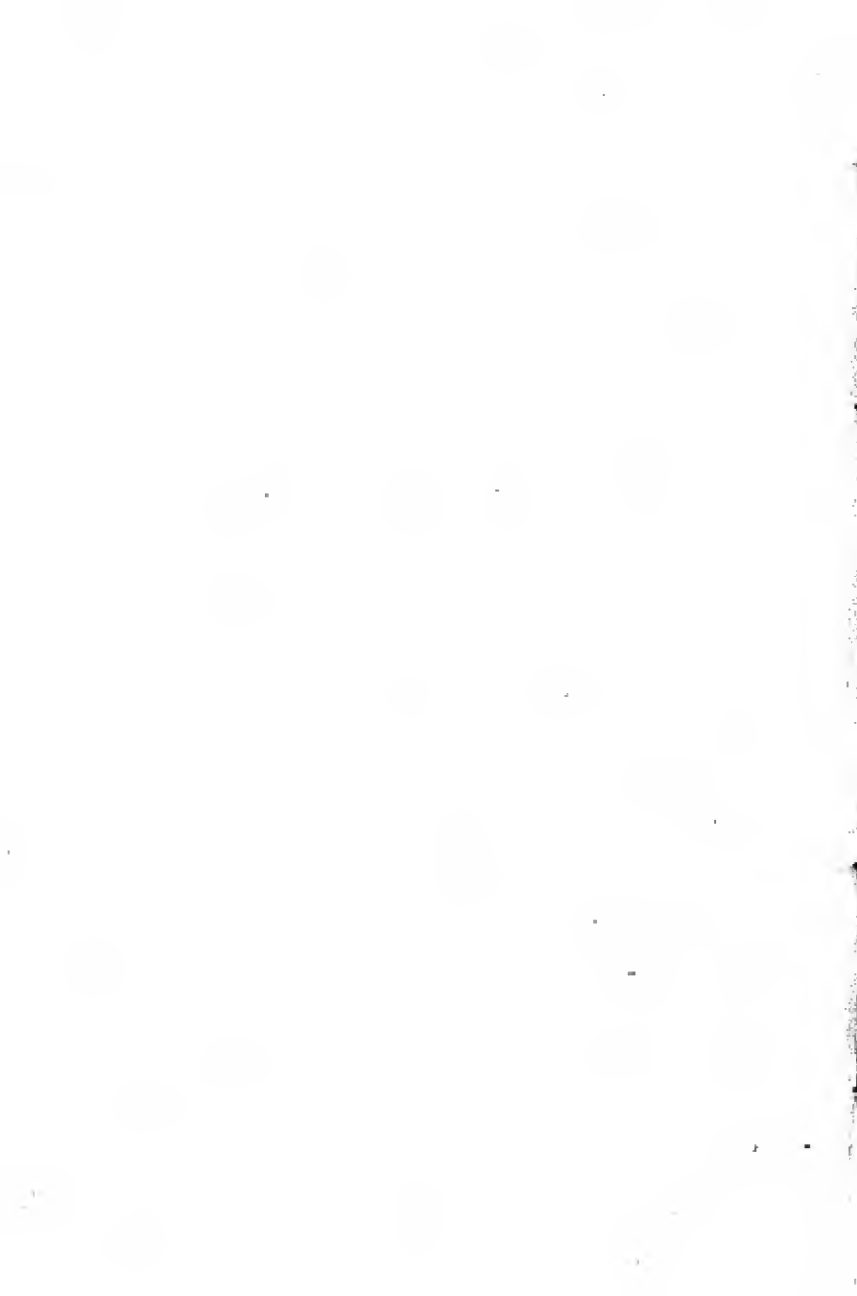


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SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

अ	=	a	इ	=	i
आ	=	ā	उ	=	u
इ	=	i	ऋ	=	ṛ
ई	=	ī	ॠ	=	ṝ
उ	=	u	ऌ	=	ḷ
ऊ	=	ū	ॡ	=	ṡ
ऋ	=	ṛ	ॢ	=	ṣ
ॠ	=	ṝ	ॣ	=	ṣh
ऌ	=	ḷ	।	=	n
ॡ	=	ṡ	॥	=	p
ॢ	=	ṣ	०	=	ph
ॣ	=	ṣh	१	=	b
।	=	n	२	=	bh
॥	=	p	३	=	m
०	=	ph	४	=	y
१	=	b	५	=	r
२	=	bh	६	=	l
३	=	m	७	=	v
४	=	y	८	=	ś
५	=	r	९	=	s
६	=	l	१०	=	śh
७	=	v	११	=	h
८	=	ś			
९	=	s			
१०	=	śh			
११	=	h			

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.O.R.I.	Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Aca.	.. ..	Ācārāṅga Sūtra
Ait. Ar.	.. ..	Aitareya Āraṇyaka
Ait. Br.	.. ..	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
Amar.	.. ..	Amarakośa
Angv.	.. ..	Āṅgavijjā
Ang.	.. ..	Āṅguttaranikāya
Antagaḍadasao.	.. ..	Antakṛtadaśāṅga
Ap. Dh. Su.	.. ..	Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra
Ap. Gr. Su.	.. ..	Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra
Ap. Sm.	.. ..	Āpastamba Smṛti
Ap. Sr. Su.	.. ..	Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra
Arch.	.. ..	Archaeological
A.S.S.	.. ..	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series
Ast. Hrd.	.. ..	Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya
Ast. Sam.	.. ..	Aṣṭāṅga Saṃgraha
Asv. Gr. Su.	.. ..	Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
Asv. Sm.	.. ..	Āśvalāyana Smṛti
Asv. Sr. Su.	.. ..	Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra
Av.	.. ..	Atharvaveda
Av. Cu.	.. ..	Āvaśyaka Sūtra Cūrṇi
Barua.	.. ..	Aśoka and his Inscriptions
Baud. Gr. Śeṣa. Su.	.. ..	Baudhāyana Gṛhya Śeṣa Sūtra
Baud. Gr. Su.	.. ..	Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
Bhagavat	.. ..	Bhāgavata Purāṇa
Bhag.	.. ..	Bhagavati Sūtra
Bharata	.. ..	Nāṭyaśāstra
Bhavi.	.. ..	Bhaviṣayatta Kahā
Bhela	.. ..	Bhela Saṃhitā
Bhikkhu Pati.	.. ..	Bhikkhu Pātimokkha
Bhikkhuni Pati.	.. ..	Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha
Bra.	.. ..	Brāhmaṇa
Bṛhatk	.. ..	Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra

Brhark. Bha.	..	..	Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra Bhāṣya
Brh. Up.	..	..	Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad
Caraka.	..	..	Caraka Saṁhitā
Chand. Up.	..	..	Chāndogya Upaniṣad
C.I.I.	..	..	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
C.S.S.	..	..	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares
Culla.	..	..	Cullavagga
Dasv.	..	..	Daśavaikālika Sūtra
Dhamma.	..	..	Dhammapada
Dh. Su.	..	..	Dharma Sūtra
Dicy. of Eco. Pro- ducts of India			Dictionary of Economic Products of India by Watt
Digh.	..	..	Dīghanikāya
Div.	..	..	Divyāvadāna
F.D.A.I.	..	..	Food and Drinks in Ancient India
f.n.			footnote
Gaut. Dh. Su.	..	..	Gautama Dharma Sūtra
Gaut Sm.	..	..	Gautama Smṛti
Gobh. Gr. Su.	..	..	Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra
G.O.S.	..	..	Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda
Gr. Su. (H)	..	..	Gṛhya Sūtra (Hindi Translation)
Harappa.	..	..	Excavations at Harappa by M.S. Vats.
Hiran. Gr. Su.	..	..	Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra
H.I.L.	..	..	History of Indian Literature
Harṣa	..	..	Harṣacarita
I.H.Q.	..	..	Indian Historical Quarterly
Itsing	..	..	I-tsing by Takakūso
J.	..	..	Jātakas by Fausboll
Jain. Bra.	..	..	Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa
Jambu.	..	..	Jambudvīpa Prajñapti
J.C. Jain	..	..	Ancient India as described in Jain Canon
Jaim. Up. Bra.	..	..	Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa
Jiva.	..	..	Jivajivābhigama by Vātsyāyana
Kama.	..	..	Kāmasūtra
Kāmandaka	..	..	Nītiśāstra
Kāśyapa	..	..	Kāśyapa Saṁhitā
Kāth. Saṁ	..	..	Kāthaka Saṁhitā
Katy. Gr. Su.	..	..	Kātyāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
Katṣ. Sr. Su.	..	..	Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra

Kaus. Bra.	..	..	Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa
Kaut.	..	..	Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra
Kav. Mīm.	..	..	Kāvya Mīmāṃsā
Kh. Gr. Su.	..	..	Khadira Gṛhya Sūtra
Kielhorn	..	..	Mahābhāṣya
Kirat.	..	..	Kirātārjunīya
Kumar	..	..	Kumārasambhava
Kurma	..	..	Kūrma Purāṇa
Latya. Sk. Su.	..	..	Lātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra
Legge	..	..	Fa-hien's record of Buddhist kingdoms
Mackay	..	..	Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro
Majjhim	..	..	Majjhima Nikāya
Mait. Sam.	..	..	Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā
Malavika.	..	..	Mālavikāgnimitra
Manas.	..	..	Mānasollāsa
Manav. Gr. Su.	..	..	Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra
Manu.	..	..	Manusmṛti
Markandeya	..	..	Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa
Marshall	..	..	Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization, by Sir John Marshall
Matsya.	..	..	Matsya Purāṇa
Mbh.	..	..	Mahābhārata
Adi.	..	..	Ādi Parva
Anu.	..	..	Anuśāsana Parva
Asrama	..	..	Āśramavāsi Parva
Asv.	..	..	Aśvamedha Parva
Karna.	..	..	Karṇa Parva
Maus.	..	..	Mausala Parva
Sabha.	..	..	Sabbā Parva
Salya.	..	..	Salya Parva
Santi.	..	..	Sānti Parva
Udyoga	..	..	Udyoga Parva
Van.	..	..	Vana Parva
Virat.	..	..	Virāṭa Parva
Milind.	..	..	Milindapaṇha
Mmk.	..	..	Arya Manjuśrīmūlakalpa, ed. Ganapati Sāstri
Mrch.	..	..	Mṛcchakatikā
M.S.V.	..	..	Mula Sarvastivāda Vinaya, Gilgit Mss., Ed. Nalinaksa Dutt

Mv.	Mahāvagga
Naiśadha.	Naiśadha Carita
Naya.	Jñātādharma-kathāṅga
Newlight	New Light on the most Ancient East, by V.G. Gordon
Nisī.	Nisītha Sūtra
Pac.	Pāccittiya
Pan.	Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī
Panc. Bra.	Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa
Panini.	Aṣṭādhyāyī
Panini (H)	Pāṇini Kālina Bhārata by V.S. Agrawal
Panna.	Prajñāpanā Sūtra
Par. Gr. Su.	Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra
Patanjali	Mahābhāṣya
Piggot	Prehistoric India by Stuart Piggot
Pinda Nir.	Pinḍa Nirukti
P.O.	Poona Orientalist
Pu.	Purāṇa
Q.J.M.S.	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society
Raghu.	Raghuvamśa
Rama.	Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki
Aran.	Aranya Kāṇḍa
Ay.	Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa
Bal.	Bāla Kāṇḍa
Kisk.	Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa
Sundara.	Sundara Kāṇḍa
Uttar.	Uttara Kāṇḍa
Yuddha.	Yuddha Kāṇḍa
Raya.	Rāyapaseṇaiya Sutta
Rv.	Ṛgveda
Sabara	Sabara Bhāṣya on Jaimini
Sad. Bra.	Ṣaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa
Sakuntala	Abhijñāna Śākuntalam
Sam.	Saṃhitā
Samyutta	Samyutta Nikāya
Sankh. Ar.	Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka
Sankh. Gr. Su.	Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
Sankh. Sm.	Sāṅkhāyana Smṛti
Sankh. Sr. Su.	Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra

Sat. Bra.	..	..	Satapatha Brāhmaṇa
S.B.B.	..	..	Sacred Books of the Buddhists
Sm.	..	..	Smṛti.
Sr. Su.	..	..	Śrauta Sūtra
Sukra	..	..	Sukranītisāra
Susruta.	..	..	Suśruta Saṁhitā
Suṣeṇa	..	..	Anna Pāna Vidhi
Sutra	..	..	Sūtra Kṛtāṅga Sūtra
Sutt. Np.	..	..	Suttanipāta
Tait. Bra.	..	..	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
Tait. Sam.	..	..	Taittirīya Saṁhitā
Tait. Up.	..	..	Taittirīya Upaniṣad
Tandula	..	..	Taṇḍula Vaikālīka Sūtra
Tha.	..	..	Śbhāṇaṅga Sūtra
Thera G.	..	..	Thera Gāthā
Ti.	..	..	Tikā (Commentary)
Uttara.	..	..	Uttarādhyayana Sūtra
Uttaracarita	..	..	Uttarārāmacarita of Bhavabhūti
Uva.	..	..	Upāsaka Daśāṅga
Vag. I	..	..	Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha
Vag. II	..	..	Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya
Vaijayantī	..	..	A lexicon by Yādevaprakāśa
Vaikh.	..	..	Vaikhāṇasa Smārta Sūtra
Vaj. Sam.	..	..	Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā
Vas. Dh. Su.	..	..	Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra
Vayu	..	..	Vāyu Purāṇa
Ved. Ind.	..	..	Vedic Index
Vilasavati	..	..	Vilāsavatīkathā
Vimana.	..	..	Vimānavatthu
Vin.	..	..	Vinayapiṭaka
Vipaka.	..	..	Vipāka Sūtra
Viṣṇu. Dh. Pu.	..	..	Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa
Viṣṇu. Dh. Su.	..	..	Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra
Vv.	..	..	Vimānavatthu, P.T.S. 1886
Wheeler	..	..	Indus Civilization by R.E.M. Wheeler in Cambridge History Supplement
Winternitz.	..	..	A History of Indian Literature
Yaj.	..	..	Yājñavalkya Smṛti

INTRODUCTION

Of the three primary needs of an individual, food, clothing and shelter, food occupies the most important place. In the early stages of civilization man was essentially a food gatherer and lived on the flesh of animals he killed and the wild roots, fruits and flowers which he gathered. But later, making use of his superior intelligence, he began to tame wild animals and raise crops. This was a great step forward in solving the ever present problem of food. With the advancement in civilization he began to improve his food both with regard to its taste and its nutritive value. Complexities of life led to complexities of food. Man began to prepare delicious dishes by intermixture of various articles of food and by cooking them in different ways. He began also to bring together articles of food from distant lands, if he could afford them.

Ancient Indians cared for the spiritual advancement of the people but they were not averse to worldly enjoyments. They wanted to maintain a harmonious balance between the different aspects of life. They fully realized that they could not fulfil their other worldly (*pāralaukika*) duties unless they had the minimum of the necessities of life in this world. It was this outlook on life which made them attach considerable importance to the matter of food.

In the Upaniṣads it is stated that it is food which enables a man to use all his faculties.¹ Purity of thought, according to these sages, depends on purity of food. Purity of thought leads, to good memory, and when memory does not fail all the knots which bind a man to this world are loosened.² Food is called a

¹ अन्नान्नस्यै द्रष्टाभवति, श्रोता भवति, मन्ता भवति, बोद्धाभवति, कर्ताभवति, विज्ञता भवति, अन्नमुपास्तेति ।

Chand. Up. VII, 9.1.

² आहार शुद्धो सत्वशुद्धिः सत्वशुद्धौ ध्रुवास्मृतिः, स्मृतिरन्ध्र सर्वशब्दीनां विप्रमोक्षः ।

Chand. Up. VII. 26.3.

panacea because all creatures depend on it.¹ In the Chândogya Upaniṣad we find that Svetaketu's father cut off all food to his son except water to show that all knowledge disappears when one is not permitted to take food.² These sages believed that the mental make up of a child depended considerably on the type of food which a mother took during the period of pregnancy. With that aim in view different dishes were prescribed for an expectant mother according to the type of the child the parents wished to rear.³ Similarly different food preparations were prescribed for different types of children in the Gṛhyasūtras, at the time of the first feeding of a child.⁴

The organisers of the Buddhist and the Jain churches also realised the importance of food and laid down explicit rules as to what should be eaten and what should be avoided. The Jains, for example, believed that rich food would make a man neglect his spiritual duties and, therefore, prescribed coarse food for Jain monks.⁵ The Sūtras also laid down food suitable for students, widows, hermits and people observing some vow.⁶

Even works on politics like the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya and the writers of the Yaśastilaka and the Mānasollāsa discuss the question of food and drinks at length with relation to health.⁷ Princes of royal blood like Bhīma and Nala were expert cooks.

¹ अन्नार्थं प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते याः काश्च पृथिवीं विताः, मयात्रेनैव जीवन्ति, मयैवदपि मन्त्र्य-
न्तवः अन्नं हि मृतानां ज्येष्ठम्, तस्मात् सर्वेष्वधमुच्यते।

Tait. Up. II. 2.

² Chand. Up. VI.

³ अथ य इच्छेत् पुत्रो मे विधीतः जायेत सर्वमायुरिषाविति मांसीवनं
पाचयित्वा सपिप्पलमवनीयादाभीश्वरो जनयित्वा वा प्रीक्षेण वापंसेण वा।

Bṛhad. Up. VI. 4.18.

⁴ प्राजमन्नाद्य कामः। तैत्तिरं ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः। मृतीदनं तेजस्कामः। दक्षिमधुघृत-
मित्रमन्नं प्राश्यते।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 14.2-3.

Cf. Par. Gr. Su. I. 19.7-11.

⁵ See Ch. III. Sec. 2.

⁶ Students—न मधु मां से प्रावनीयात् क्षारलवणे च।

Manuv. Gr. Su. I. 1.12.

Widows—अक्षारलवणं भूञ्जयता।

Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 33.

Hermits—Ap. Dh. Su. II. 9.22.

Observing some vow—Kātyāyana Sr. Su. II. 1.8, Boudh Gr. Su. II.

1.10.

⁷ Yaśastilaka III. 329-353. Mānasollāsa. III. 13.

The belief that the mental make up of the people depended considerably on the food articles which they consume is very well illustrated by a set of verses in the Bhagavadgītā. It classifies food articles into three categories. First category mentions the articles liked by people in whom the divine virtues predominate, the second mentions food liked by passionate people and the third which is liked by people of low tastes.¹ The same book lays down that a person who indulges in overeating or observes too many fasts cannot lead a life of continence. It is only proper food which leads to perfect happiness.²

The medical works clearly state that the physical and mental happiness of individuals depends on the food which they take.³ They, therefore, give a list of those articles which are conducive

¹ श्रायुः सत्त्वबलारोग्यमुखप्रीतिविवर्धनाः ।

रस्याः स्निग्धा, स्थिरा हृक्षा आहारा चारिषकप्रियः । ८ ।

कट्वम्ल लवणात्युष्ण तीक्ष्णरूक्षविद्राहिणः ।

आहारा राजसस्वेष्टा दुःखशोकभयप्रदाः । ९ ।

यातयामं गतरसं पूति पर्युषितं च यत् ।

उच्छिष्टमपि चाभेद्यं भोजनं तामसप्रियम् । १० ।

Gītā. XVII. 8-10.

² नात्यशनस्तु योषोस्ति न चैकान्तमनश्नतः ।

न चाति स्वप्नशीलस्त जाग्रतो नैव चार्जुन । १६ ।

युक्ताहारविहारस्य युक्तचेष्टस्य कर्मसु ।

युक्तस्वप्नावबोधस्य योगो भवति दुःखहा । १७ ।

Gītā. VI. 16-17.

³ हिताहारोपयोग एक एव पुरुषस्याभिबुद्धिकरो भवति, प्रहिताहारोपयोगः पुनर्व्याधीनां निमित्तमिति ।

Caraka. Su. XXV. 31.

अतश्च सर्वभूतानामाहारः स्थितिकारणम् ।

न खाहारादृतेऽस्त्यन्यत् प्राणिनां प्राणधारणम् । ४ ।

न चाहारसमं किञ्चिद् भेषज्यमुपलभ्यते ।

शक्यतेऽप्यन्नमात्रेण नरः कर्तुं निरामयः । ५ ।

दुष्टि दुष्टिर्धृतिर्बुद्धिरस्ताहः पीरुषं बलम् । ११ ।

सौख्यमोक्षस्तेजश्च जीवितं प्रतिभाप्रभा ।

आहारादेवजायन्ते एवमाद्यागुणायुषाम् । १२ ।

तदात्मवान् हितं मितं काले भुञ्जीतश्चरुसम् ।

Kāśapa Sam., p. 249.

प्राणिनां पुनर्नृलघाहारो बलवर्णौजसां च, सपदसु रसेष्वायतः, रसाः पुनर्देव्याभक्षिणः, द्रव्यरसगुण बीजविधाकर्मिणो न सपदबी दोषाणां साम्यं च ।

Sūśruta. Su. 46.

to health and those which are unsuitable for different people.¹ According to these works the suitability of food stuffs depends on many factors—race, country, time of the year and the physical condition of the individual taking food. A food article may suit a person at one time and may not suit him at another time. The medical works, therefore, prescribe food suitable for different seasons, for the inhabitants of different regions and for the people of different temperaments.² Even in these works good health is considered a means of fulfilling the various aspects of life (*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*).³ Even works like *Kāmasūtra*, *Smṛiti* and *Purāṇas* lay down what should be eaten and what should not be eaten.⁴ There was a firm belief that a man is what he eats and purity of thought depends on purity of food. Elaborate rules were, therefore, framed to maintain the purity of food. The above facts prove it, beyond doubt, that ancient Indians attached great importance to proper diet of the people.

In the present thesis an attempt has been made to survey the food habits of Indians, particularly those residing in the north, from the earliest times to 1200 A.D. The first chapter deals with the habits of the people inhabiting India in the Paleolithic and Neolithic times. The philological study of words expressing different articles of food in the Pre-Aryan languages and some archaeological finds are our only sources of information for this period. The excavations in the Indus valley region throw some light on the food habits of the people residing in that region.

The second chapter deals with the Vedic period. Our sources for this period are the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Aranyakas and the Upaniṣads. These works are mostly religious in character but provide us with some data about the food articles used by early Aryans as most of the offerings which they made to the gods consisted of the food articles which they themselves used.

¹ Caraka. Su. V, Bhela., p. 4.

² Seasons—Caraka. Su. VI. Bhela., p. 25.

Regions—Kāśyapa. Sam. Bhojanskalpa., p. 46-52.

Bhela., p. 22. Caraka. C. 30 & 317.

³ चमर्धिकाममोक्षानामारोग्यं मूलसाधनम् ।

Caraka. Su. I.

⁴ Kāmasūtra 191. & 1, Vāyu-Pu. 80-83, Matsya. Pu. XV. Agni Pu. 162-165, Kūṣma Pu. II. 17-20. Manu. Sm. V and VI, Yaj. Sm. I. 171-180.

The third chapter has been divided into two sections. For the first section our chief sources are the *Gṛhya* and the *Srauta Sūtras* as also the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. They present before us the conditions as they existed in the middle country during the period C. 800 B.C. to C. 325 B.C. To form an idea of the food habits of the people during the period in the eastern parts of India the *Jātakas* and the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works have been used. The Jain works in their present form were compiled rather late, perhaps in the 5th century A.D., but they give a true picture of this period as there was little change in the Jain traditions upto that time. An indistinct picture of the food habits of the South Indian people can also be formed by a few references in the early Sangam literature.

The fourth chapter also has been divided into two sections. In the first section an attempt has been made to present a picture of the people in the Maurya period. Our principal sources for this section are the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the edicts of Aśoka and the accounts of Megasthenes and some historians who accompanied Alexander on his Indian invasion. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* shows how the sale of meat was supervised by the government officers and the preparations and sale of intoxicating drinks became a state monopoly. There was wide difference between the food of the rich and the poor. The epics and the *Manusmṛiti* also present a picture of the post Buddhist period but are of uncertain date. They are a mine of information for the social history of the period and depict the changing conditions of the time. No student of social history of ancient India can afford to ignore them. They have, therefore, been used in the second section of this chapter.

In the fifth chapter the conditions as they existed during the period C. 75 A.D. to C. 300 A.D. have been surveyed. During this period the Imperial Kuṣāṇas were the predominant power in the North West India. Our principal sources of information are the medical works of Caraka and Suśruta. These works are free from any religious or communal bias and refer to the food habits of the people in all parts of India, both vegetarian and non-vegetarian. There are also some casual references in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali which throw some light on the food habits of the people.

For a study of the food habits of the people in the Gupta Age (300 A.D. to 750 A.D.) which is the period dealt with in the sixth chapter, we have a number of literary works by authors like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and Daṇḍin. Special mention may be made of the *Āṅgavijjā* which is a mine of information for the social history of the early Gupta period. Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, the *Amarakośa* and two medical works of this period, the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* and the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya*, supplement this information. Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang also throw some light on the food habits of the people. But their accounts present a picture mainly of the Buddhist section of the society, because they could not come in contact with other sections. The *Purāṇas* and the *Smṛtis* of this period prescribe the articles of food which should be used and which were to be avoided. They are rather conservative in outlook but the literature of the period and paintings of Ajanta reflect a happy and prosperous state of society.

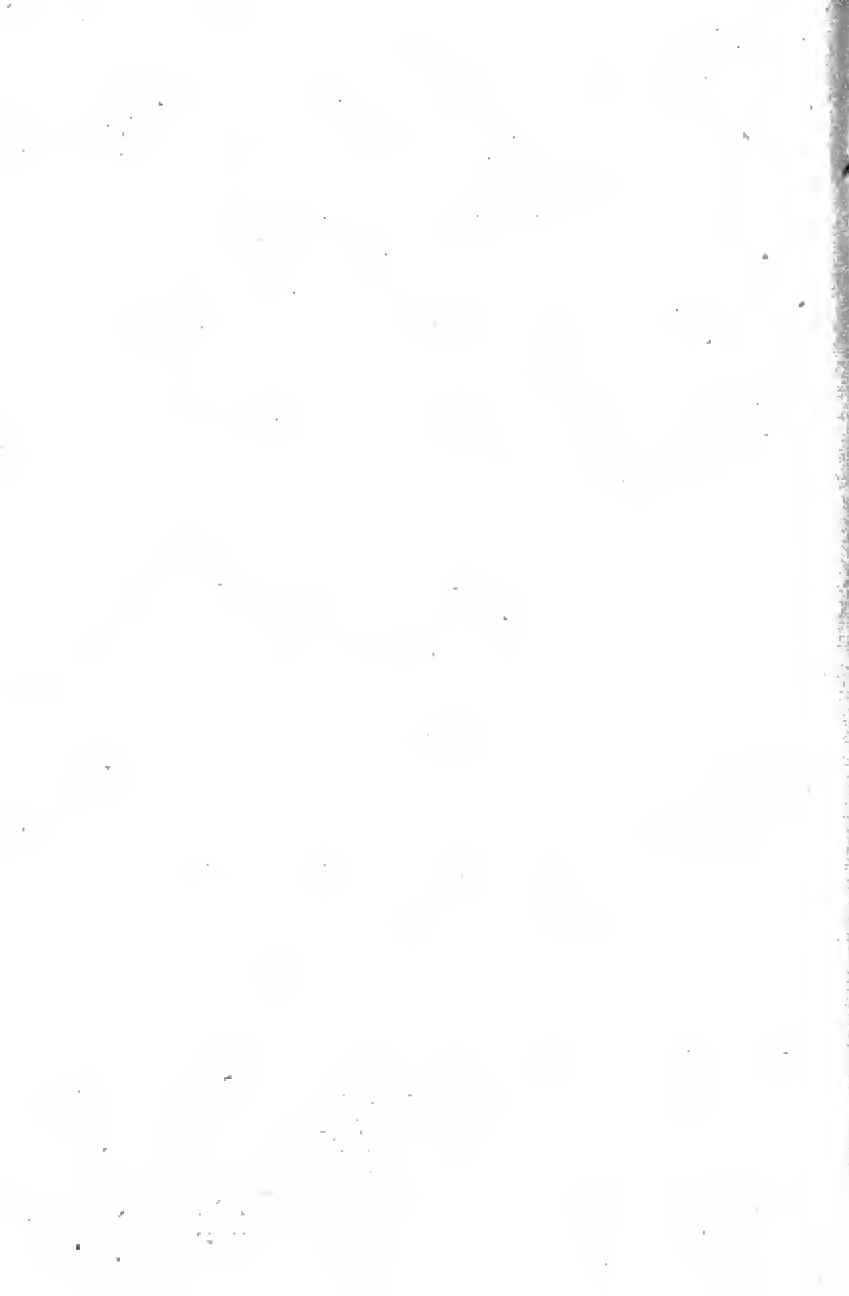
For the next chapter which deals with the conditions as they existed during the period 750—1200 we have a number of literary sources, such as the works of Rājasekhara, Somadeva and Śrīhaṛṣa. But the chapters on food and drinks in the *Mānasollāsa* are the basic source of information for a study of the food habits of the people during the early part of the 12th century. Some Jain works of the period give an account of feasts where only vegetarian dishes were served. The account of Alberuni has been used with caution because sometimes it was based, not on personal observation, but on a study of the religious works of the Hindus. Wherever it is in conformity with the picture presented in the contemporary literature due weight has been given to his evidence.

In dealing with the subject in each chapter a uniform scheme has been adopted. Food grains and milk products have all along occupied a prominent place in Indian dietary; hence these have been discussed at the beginning of each chapter. Next in importance come the meat preparations, which were used by a considerable section of the society along with vegetarian dishes. Then follows a short account of the spices and oils used for seasoning the various food articles. Sweets and sweetening ingredients such as honey, *guda* and sugar come next with a short description of fruits and vegetables used in each period. Towards the end

of the chapter various beverages including intoxicating drinks and water are dealt with. Then follows a short account of the development of culinary art and the cooking utensils used. At the end of each chapter an attempt has been made to make a short survey of the important rules of diet, etiquette and the favourite articles of food in different parts of the country during the period. A glance at these rules proves it beyond doubt that great stress was laid on such virtues as hospitality and great care was taken that the food consumed should be pure. Students, widows, and ascetics were advised to avoid exciting food stuffs. The mass of the people lived on simple and nourishing food. The rich, however, enjoyed dainty dishes.

The concluding chapter tries to present a rapid survey of the striking features in the food habits of ancient Indians in each period. It also tries to throw some light on the important changes* brought about in the food habits and the probable causes—religious, political, geographical or economic which brought about such changes. The chief characteristic of the Indian civilization is its spirit of synthesis. It has all along adapted itself to the new forces; and the same spirit of synthesis is discernible in the food habits of the people which have altered with the changing conditions. But the process of change has all along been gradual.

*The establishment of Muslim rule probably affected the food habits of a few rich people and some new preparations were introduced into our dietary, but the masses continued to relish traditional dishes even as late as the 17th century. This is evident from such works as *Bhojana-Kutūhala* by Raghunātha who flourished in that century. With the advent of the Europeans some foreign articles of food were included in our dietary. There is no mention of maize, chillies, and tobacco before the Portuguese entered India although some of these articles are used almost in every part of India now.



CHAPTER I

PRE-HISTORIC CIVILISATION OF INDIA

The earliest man every where was essentially a part of the plant and animal life that surrounded him reacting passively to the climate and geographical configuration of the land. But he slowly gained consciousness of the powers and potentialities which distinguished him from other animals and enabled him to dominate over nature rather than remain its slave.

The generally accepted theory is that the earliest inhabitants of India were Negroid in type.¹ Originally they appear to have come from Africa through Arabia and the coastlands of Iran and Baluchistan. They appear to have been food gatherers rather than food producers.² Their food consisted of fruits, nuts and tubers, obtained by the use of stone knives and diggers. Soon they added to their dietary the flesh of animals which they hunted.³ They did not know how to till the soil or raise the food. They probably were unaware of the art of cattle breeding.⁴ They probably spread over South India and even ventured to cross the sea and settled in the Andaman Islands. In India, the Negritos, would appear to have been either killed off by the later immigrants, notably the Proto-Australoids⁵ or absorbed by them.

The Negritos were displaced by the Proto-Australoids.⁶ They probably used a digging stick (*lakufa*, *lagnda*, *linga*, *lañda*) for ploughing.⁷ The terrace cultivation of rice might have originated with these people. The common word for rice, *Chāwal*, in Indo-Aryan languages might be very well connected with the Kol or Mundā root 'Jom' 'to eat.'⁸ The word *tanḍula* (husked

¹ Origin and Spread of the Tamils, p. 5. Racial Elements in the Population. Dr. B. S. Guha.

² The Vedic Age, Ch. VIII, p. 146.

³ Advanced History of India. P.T.S. Iyengar, p. 9.

⁴ Indo-Aryan and Hindi—S.K. Chatterji, p. 52. Prehistoric South India Dikshitar, p. 53.

⁵ The Vedic Age, Ch. VIII, p. 146.

⁶ They are called *Nīpāda* in the Sanskrit literature.

⁷ Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India—P. C. Bagchi.

⁸ The Vedic Age, p. 150.

rice) also seems to be of Austric origin. This leads us to the conclusion that these people probably used rice as the staple food grain.

On the basis of philological studies of Jean Przyluski, Jules Bloch and Sylvan Levi¹ we can say that pumpkin (*alāhu*) and brinjal (*vatingana*) were used as vegetables by these people. Their food also included such fruits as banana (*kadali* and *kandali*), coconut (*Nārikela*), roseapple (*jambū*), pomegranate (*dādima*), dillenia Indica (*Kāmaranga*) and watermelon (*Kalinga*).

These people probably used turmeric (*haridrā*), ginger (*Sringavera*), lemonfruit (*nimbuka*) as spices and knew how to prepare mustard (*Sarsapa*) oil and Jaggery (*guda*). They used betel leaves (*tāmbūla*) and betelnut (*gnvāka*). They do not appear to have been cattle breeders.

The next people to reach India were probably the Dravidians.² On the basis of Dr. J. Burrow's studies of early Dravidian words³ it can be concluded that the food of the early Dravidians consisted of boiled rice (*kāra*), sour rice gruel (*kālī*), *kud-māsa* (a species of *Delichos*) and *varuka* (an inferior food grain). They also used fried barley (*pātya*). Of the pulses (*simbi*) they used *Māsa*, *Mudga* and *Masūra*. They also prepared round cakes (*patakas*) which they fried in oil or butter. They were also acquainted with shrivelled grain (*Pulāka*). Rice seems to be the staple food grain as several earthenware bowls containing the husk of paddy and bronze bowls with grains of rice have been found at Adichchanalur.⁴

They used meat (*tarasa*) as also seasoned meat (*vallīra*). Fish seems to have been another important article of food as a

¹ Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India by P. C. Bagchi.

² On the basis of similarities between the early cultures of the eastern Mediterranean and that of Adichchanalur it seems not unlikely that the Dravidians reached India from this part of the world, and the people of the Neolithic stage were the descendants of the Proto-Mediterranean race. When the Aryans came to India they met the *Nipādas* (Proto-Australoids) and the *Dāsas* or *Dryas* (Dravidians). K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—A History of South India, pp. 34-61.

S. K. Chatterji—Indo-Aryan and Hindi.

S. Piggot—Prehistoric India.

³ Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Research London, 1948, pp. 371-393.

⁴ A History of South India, p. 62 by K. A. Nilakanta, Sastri.

number of netsinkers have been found near the Neolithic sites.¹

They consumed two intoxicating drinks *Irā* and *Māsara*. There was found at Cuddapah some Chunam like matter in a *loṣā*. It points towards the existence of palm juice industry.² They knew the art of preparing *Guda* and toddy tapping.

Of the fruits and vegetables *Panasa* (jack fruit), *Tuṇḍi* (gourd), *paṣola* (a species of cucumber), *Mudālī* (a kind of edible root) and *Puṇḍarika* (lotus flower) are mentioned. Spices must have been used in preparing curries as we know that they were exported to Assyria in the 14th century B.C.³ They used *Tulasī* (holy basil), *Cīṣcā* (tamarind) and *phiga* (betel nut). The mention of *Tila* (sesama) and *Pinyāka* in the vocabulary leads us to the conclusion that these people extracted oil and used it in cooking.

From the archaeological finds of this period⁴ we know that pottery was used for storing water and grains and cooking. Stone mortars, woodenpestles, and stone corn grinders were used. Stone slabs and rollers were probably used in grinding spices and preparing curries.

There have also been found a number of cisterns in which water (*toya*) was stored for drinking.⁵

That the Indus valley was very fertile is clear from the fact that kiln burnt bricks were used in building houses for which unlimited timber was required as fuel.⁶ In the representation art of Harappa the animals shown are such as are found in a fertile region and not in a desert.⁷ The record of chroniclers of Alexander the Great's campaigns suggests that in the 4th century B.C. Sind was still a fertile region.⁸ The very existence of large cities presupposes a considerable agricultural population.⁹ The Russian scientists headed by Vevilov have come to the conclusion

¹ Pre-Historic South India, p. 77 by V. R. R. Diksitar.

² Pre-Historic South India, p. 77, by V. R. R. Diksitar.

³ T. R. Sestha Iyengar. Dravidian India, p. 134.

⁴ P. T. S. Iyengar—Advanced History of India.

⁵ We have not included a discussion of the food habits of the Indus valley people in the food habits of the Dravidians as we are not sure about the authors of this civilization. We shall, therefore, consider in detail the foods and drinks of the Indus Valley people before discussing the food habits of Aryans.

⁶ Stuart Piggot—Prehistoric India (1949), p. 68.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 134. Wheeler—The Indus Civilisation, p. 56.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

that wheat originated from a centre near the Punjab, the fold between the Hindukush and the Himālayas.¹ It was not of a wild variety but of the same type as is cultivated now-a-days in the Punjab.² It formed the principal article of food of the people inhabiting this region.

Specimens of barley have also been found among the ruins of Mohenjodaro.³ We are not quite sure whether rice was also grown in the Indus Valley even though the people may not have been unfamiliar with it.⁴ At Harappa people also cultivated peas and sesamum.⁵ A species of brassica, modern *Rāi*, was also grown.⁶

The store houses with raised platforms and ventilated floors were probably used as granaries. The circular platforms were used as mortars in which grain was pounded with wooden pestles as in Modern Kashmir. Piggot thinks that the storage of grain at Harappa was part of a government agricultural policy. In the granaries there, flour was prepared by coolie labour which was housed in miserable rows of identically planned two roomed cottages.⁷

Domestic animals in the Harappa culture included the buffalo, goat and sheep.⁸ This means that milk must have formed an important article of food of these people.

The existence of a number of saddle querns with mullers suggests that the grains were ground in these as no circular grinding stones have been founded.⁹ A number of rolling pins of pottery and stone have been found at Chanhudaro. This makes us conclude that the little water cakes (*Phulkās* in Hindi) were

¹ R. K. Mookerji—Hindu Civilisation (Supplement).

² Marshall. Vol. I, p. 27. Wheeler. Camb. Hist. Supplement., p. 62. Piggot, p. 153. Vats—Harappa, p. 6.

³ Marshall. Vol. I, p. 27. Wheeler. Camb. Hist. Supplement., p. 62. Piggot, p. 153. Vats—Harappa, p. 6.

⁴ Childe—New Light, p. 209.

The value of rice grain in Ridgeway's book 'Origin of Currency and Weight standards' is .036 gms. On the basis of weights found in the Indus Valley region Sir John Marshall was inclined to come to the conclusion that rice was also grown. Marshall Vol. II, p. 59.

⁵ Vats—Harappa, p. 6. Piggot, p. 153. Wheeler, p. 62.

⁶ Piggot—Prehistoric India, p. 153.

⁷ Piggot—Prehistoric India, p. 155.

⁸ Piggot—Prehistoric India, p. 153.

⁹ Piggot—Prehistoric India, p. 158.

made exactly in the same way as now.¹

That Indus Valley people were meat eaters is evident from the fact that meat was included in the offerings of the dead. The numerous sling balls of clay, the copper fish hooks, the arrow heads, the flying knives constitute sufficient proof of the fact that the inhabitants depended largely for their food on birds, beasts and fish.² Their food comprised beef, mutton, pork and poultry, the flesh of gharials, turtles, and tortoises, fresh local fish from the river and dried fish brought from the sea coast. The bones or shells of all these have been found often in a half burnt state in and around the houses.³

We have sufficient evidence that the Indus valley people consumed fruits. Melon seeds were found at Harappa. A few date stones were found at Mohenjodaro. Two small faience objects from Harappa appear to represent date seeds. Tree forms on the earthenware suggest the existence of cocoanut fruit, pomegranate and banana.⁴ The shape of an ear-ring suggests the existence of lemon fruit. Curries of various kinds were doubtless a favourite food as stones for grinding the necessary spices were quite common.⁵ Existence of a number of dishes also points in the same direction. They were possibly used for keeping spices.

The water supply of Mohenjodaro and Harappa was obtained from excellently constructed wells with brick lining.⁶ Innumerable fragments of mass produced clay cups have been found near the well heads. This makes us conclude that the Indus Valley people followed the modern Hindu practice of throwing away the cups once used for drinking.⁷

Domestic vessels were generally of earthenware of various kinds and shapes. Most of the pottery was wheel made, well fired and plain.⁸ But painted ware have also been found. The designs were executed in black on a dark red slip. There

¹ At Mohenjodaro a circular bread oven 3 ft. 8. ins. in diameter and 3'6" in height was found which resembles bread ovens still widely used in Asia. Wheeler Cambridge History. Supplement., p. 37.

² Vats. Harappa, p. 6.

³ Marshall, Vol. I. Ch. IV, p. 37.

⁴ Wheeler—Cambridge History Supplement., p. 62.

⁵ Mackay—Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro.

⁶ Piggot.—Prehistoric India, p. 170.

⁷ Piggot.—Prehistoric India, p. 170.

⁸ Marshall Part I, Ch. IV, p. 27.

have been found, bowls, beakers, goblets, dishes, basins, saucers stands and jars. A number of ladles of shell have also been found. Their length, including the handles varies from 2.00" to 7.2 inches. There has also been found an oval cup of shell.¹ Vessels were also made in copper, silver or lead. Copper and bronze were generally used for tools. The flake knife of chert provided with a handle was used for cutting up food.²

These are some facts which we have been able to gather as a result of the labours of the Archaeologist. But we can imagine that many kinds of food preparations and beverages might have been enjoyed by these people as the cities of this region were international trade centres at that time. At least even from the facts that we have it is certain that the basis of our modern food habits lies in those formed by Pre-Aryan races like the Dravidians, Proto-Australoids and Negroids.

¹ Vats Harappa, p. 373.

² Marshall part I, Chap. IV, p. 27.

CHAPTER II

FOOD AND DRINKS IN THE VEDIC PERIOD

Food has great importance for Vedic Indians. It is from food states the Tait. Up. that the people are born. All who live on this earth have to subsist on food. Of all created things food is the most important hence it is called *Sarvaṇṣadba* or panacea.¹ Elsewhere, one is advised to worship food for it enables a man to use all his faculties.² We are even told that through food comes the end of all ignorance and bondage.³ It is eaten so it is called *Anna* but it is also *Pitṛ* because it provides nutriment.⁴

CEREALS AND PULSES

As now, cereals formed a very important part of Indian food and among cereals the most important place was occupied by barley.⁵ In the Atharvaveda it is called one of the two immortal

¹ अन्नाद्वै प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते वाः काश्च पृथिवी ऽं अिताः अथोन्नेनैव जीवन्ति अथैनदपि मन्थन्ततः अन्न ऽं हि भूतानां ज्येष्ठम् तस्मात्सर्वेष्व मृष्यते।

Tait. Up. II. 2.

² अन्नान्नस्यायं द्रष्टा भवति श्रोता भवति, गन्ता भवति, बोद्धा भवति, कर्ता भवति विज्ञाता भवति अन्नमुपास्वेति।

Chand. Up. VII. 9.1.

³ आहारशुद्धी सत्वशुद्धिः सत्वशुद्धी ध्रुवास्मृतिः। स्मृति लब्धे सर्वप्रणयीता विप्रमोक्षः।

Chand. Up. VII. 26.2.

⁴ Rv. I. 61.7, 132.6, 187.1, VI. 20.4 etc. Ved. Ind. I. 326, Kath. Sam. XIII 15, Vaj. Sam. II, 20, XII, 65. Tait. Sam. V, 7, 2, 4. Av. IV 6.3. Ait. Bra. I. 13. स्नादो पितो मधो पितो वयं द्वा बहुमहे। अस्माकमविता भव।

Rv. I. 187.2.

Sāyaṇa on Rv. I. 187. 1. पितुम्-पालकमन्नम्।

Other words used in the sense of food in the Vedic literature are *ida* (Rv. III. 1.23), *anīḥas* (Rv. I. 153.4, Vaj. Sam. III. 20), *paribāsa* (Rv. I. 187.8) and *Abhra* (Chand. Up. VII. 26.2).

⁵ Rv. I. 23.15, 117.21, 135.8, II. 5.6, 14.11, III. 42.7, V. 85.3, IX. 68, 4, Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. Tait. Sam. IV. 7.4., VI. 4. 10, Kath. Sam. XV. 1, Mait. Sam. III. 10.2, IV. 3.2, Av. II. 8.3. VI 30.1. VI. 30.1., 91.1., 141.2, VIII. 7.20., IX. 1.22, 6.14, XII. 1.42.

यत्स्वान्नं त्रीह्रियसौ यस्या द्वाः पञ्च कृष्टवः।

मूर्धं पञ्चन्यपत्यै नमोस्तु यवमेदते।

Av. XII. 1.42.

sons of heaven i.e. barley and rice.¹ It was ground and formed into cakes² which were dipped into ghee before eating.³ Sweet cakes (*apāpa*) of barley flour were also prepared.⁴ Parched barley⁵ was eaten either whole with *Soma* juice⁶ or ground into meal which was mixed with curds, clarified butter, *Soma* juice, water⁷

¹ दिवस्पृथावमर्त्यौ ।

Av. VIII. 7.20.

सैनान्यं वा एतदोषधीनां यद्यवाः ।

Ait. Br. VIII. 16.

² *Puroḍāśa*.

Rv. III. 28.1, 41.3, 52.2, IV. 32. 16, VI. 23. 7.

प्रीहिमयः पुरोडाशो भवति ।

Mait. Sam. III. 10.2.

पक्वः पिष्टपिण्डः पुरोडाश इत्युच्यते ।

Sāyana on Ait. Br. I. 1.2.9.

Pakti. Rv. IV. 24.5, 24.7, 25.6, 25.7, VI. 29.4. According to Sāyana and Mahidhara *Pakti* means cake but as in the Rv. IV 24.5 both *pakti* and *puroḍāśa* are mentioned in the same hymn it seems unlikely that the two words are synonymous. It seems likely that *pakti* was a liquid preparation served after *puroḍāśa*.

See K. R. Potdar—Sacrifice in the R̥gveda.

आदिद्धं नेम इन्द्रियं यजन्त आदित्यवित्तः पुरोडाशं परिचिन्वात् ।

आदित्सोमो हि पृथ्व्यद सुष्वीन्द्राजिक् जुजोष वृषभं यजन्तौ ।

Rv. IV. 24.5.

³ पुरोडाशावाच्येनाभिधारितौ ।

Av. X. 9.25.

⁴ See Sweets, p. 19, f.n. 7.

⁵ *Dhānāṣṭh* (parched barley) Rv. I. 16.2, III. 35.3, 43.4, 52.5, IV. 24.7, 29.4, VIII. 92.2, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, 22, Kath. Sam. XI. 2. Tait. Sam. VI. 5.11.4, III. 1.10.2, Av. XVIII. 5.69., Tait. Br. I. 5.11.2, Sat. Br. IV. 4.3.9, XIII. 2.1.4.

⁶ कृता घाना अलवे ते हरिष्मताम् ।

Rv. III. 35.7.

घानाः कर्मभः परिवायः पुरोडाशः पयस्या ।

तेन पञ्चुराप्यते तद् यज्ञस्य पाद्वत्तत्त्वम् ।

Tait. Sam. VI. 5.11.4.

वास्ते घाना सन्किराणि तिलमिश्राः स्वधावतीः ।

Av. XVIII. 4.43.

⁷ *Sakti* (parched barley meal) Rv. X. 71.2, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, Tait. Sam. VI. 4.10.6., Kath. Sam. XV. 2, Sat. Br. I. 6.3.16, IX. 1.1.8, XII. 9.1.3.

सक्तुमिष तिलजना पुनन्तो ।

Rv. X. 71.2.

Karambha (parched barley meal with curds, clarified butter, *Soma*-juice or water). Rv. I. 187, 10, III. 52.1., VI. 56.1. VIII. 91. 2.3.

Vaj Sam. XIX. 27, Tait. Sam. III. 1.10.2, VI. 5.11.4, Sat. Br. II. 5.2.14. IV. 2.4.18., Tait. Br. I. 5.11.2., Ait. Br. VIII. 6.

or milk.¹ A gruel was also prepared with barley.² Sometimes a mess of barley was prepared by cooking it in water or milk.³

Wheat is mentioned in all the Samhitās except the R̥gveda.⁴ We find it used in preparing groats⁵ but it may also have been used as a substitute for barley. Its introduction in the Aryan dietary may have been due to their contact with the Dravidians who as we have seen, had been using wheat as far back as 3000 B.C.⁶

We find no definite mention of rice in the R̥gveda⁷ but it

धानाबन्तं करम्भिणंशूपवन्तमुक्थिनम् ।

Rv. III. 52.1., VIII. 91.3.

दधिमित्रं सक्तुम् करम्भम् ।

Sāyaṇa on Rv. III. 52.1.

यवपिष्टमाज्यसंयुतम् ।

Sāyaṇa on Tait. Br. I. 5.11.2.

करम्भः उदभन्धः ।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21.

¹ वृषभो न तिग्मशृङ्गोऽन्तर्मुखेषु रोक्षत् ।

गन्धस्त इन्द्र शङ्खदेवं ते सुनोति भावयुविद्व स्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ।

Rv. X. 86.15.

² *Yavayajñ*—Tait. Sam. VI. 2.5.2., Kath. Sam. XI. 2. Tait. Aran. II. 8.8., Kaus. Br. IV. 13.

अतिलयवान्वा वा बहुधाद् गवीचुक्यवान्वा वा ।

Tait. Sam. V. 4.3.2.

³ Rv. VIII. 69.14. विश्वेत्ता विष्णुराभरदुरुकमस्त्वेधितः ।

सतं महिवांस्वीरपाकमोदनं वराहमिन्द्र एमुषम् ।

Rv. VIII. 77.10.

⁴ Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, XIX. 22.89, XXI. 29, Sat. Br. XII. 7.1.2., 7.2.9.

ब्रीहयश्च मे यवाश्च मे प्रियङ्गवश्च मेऽणवश्च मे श्यामाकाश्च मे नीवाराश्च मे गोधूमाश्च मे मयूराश्च मे यज्ञेन कल्पन्ताम् ।

Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12.

सोषधीर्ना वेदिष्ठतां यद्गोधूमाः ।

Sat. Br. V. 2.1.6.

⁵ Sat. Br. XII. 9.1.5.

⁶ See Chapter I, p. 4.

⁷ We come across two expressions *Dhānyabija* (Rv. V. 53.13.7.) and *Kṣīrapākam Odanam* (Rv. VIII. 77.10.) It is doubtful if they indicate the use of rice for *Dhānyabija* may merely mean grain and *Odanam* though later used for boiled rice might have had only the sense of a mess in general in the R̥gvedic period, as the exact grain used is not mentioned. *Dhānya* may have meant rice as the word has been used by Śabara in that sense on Jaim. IX. 1.38.39.

is referred to frequently in the post R̥gvedic literature.¹ The Yajurveda mentions five varieties of it² of which the best was *Mahāvrihi*.³ A mess (*Odana*) was prepared with rice cooked in water⁴ or milk.⁵ Rice was taken also with curds,⁶ sesamum,⁷ ghee,⁸ *Mudga* beans⁹ and meat.¹⁰ Patched rice could be taken alone¹¹ or prepared into a drink after boiling it.¹² The well known preparation *Cindā* had come into use and was known as *Pr̥thuka*.¹³ It was prepared as now, by moistening rice grains

¹ Tait. Sam. I. 8.10, Kath. Sam. XV. 3, Av. VI. 140.2, VII. 7.20, IX. 6.14., Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.9, Brh. Up. VI. 3.22., Chand. Up. III. 14. 3.

² *Kṛṣṇavrihi*. Tait. Sam. 1.8. 10, III. 1. 3.9, Kath. Sam. X. 6. *Suklavrihi*. Kath. Sam. XI. 3., Tait. Sam. I. 8.10. Jaim. Br. I.43, Chand. Up. V. 10.6.

Aśvabānya. Tait. Sam. I. 8.10. Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.2.

पूर्वं क्षिप्राः सन्तः पुनः आशु प्ररोहन्ति पुनराशुकाः इत्यर्थे व्याशुकाः छान्दसः।

Harisvāmī on Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.2.

a swift growing variety of rice.

Hāyana. Mait. Sam. II. 6.6., Kath., Sam. XV. 3. Sat. Bra. V. 3. 3. 6. red rice growing in a year.

संवत्सरपक्वानां रस्तशालीनाम्।

Harisvāmī on Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.6.

संवत्सरपक्वा व्रीहयः इति।

Pāṇini III. 1.48.

cf. Ved. Ind. II., p. 302.

³ Tait. Sam. I. 8.10.

साम्राज्यं वा एतदोपधीनां यन्महाव्रीहयः।

Ait. Bra. VIII. 16.

⁴ Av. IV. 14.7., 11. 3. Brh. Up. VI. 4. 16.

⁵ *Kṛṣṇaudana*. Av. XIII. 2. 20, Sat. Bra. II. 3. 3. 4, XI. 3. 7. 3. Brh. Up. 4. 13.

⁶ *Dadhyaudana*. Brh. Up. VI. 4. 15.

⁷ *Tilaudana*. Brh. Up. VI. 4. 17.

⁸ *Ghṛtaudana*. Sankh. Ar. XII. 8.

⁹ *Mudgaudana*. Sankh. Ar. XII. 8.

¹⁰ *Mamsaudana*. Sankh. Ar. XII. 8., Sat. Bra. XI. 3. 7. 3. Brh. Up. VI. 4. 18.

अथ य इच्छेत् पुनो मे पण्डितो विधीतः जायेत मांसोदनं पाचयित्वा सर्पिष्मन्तमनीयाताम् ईश्वरो जनयित्वा व्रीक्षेणवार्षभेणवा।

Brh. Up. VI. 4. 18.

¹¹ *Paripāpa*. Tait. Sam. III. 1. 10. 1, VI. 3. 11. 4., VII. 2. 10.4.

Kath. Sam. XXXIV. 11, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21-22. Ait. Bra. II. 24. Tait. Bra. I. 5. 11. 4.

¹² *Lājāb*. Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Tait. Bra. II. 6. 4. III. 8. 14.4, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 13. 81, 21. 42, Sat. Bra. XII. 8. 2. 7.

लाना व्रीक्षपक्वाः पुष्पवद्विकसिताः।

Sāyaṇa on Tait. Bra. II. 6. 4.

¹² Av. V. 3. 1. *Lājamaṇḍa*.

¹³ Tait. Br. III. 8. 14. 3.

with water, slightly parching them and flattening them with the strokes of a pestle. We find also the mention of a preparation of rice, milk and sesamum called *Kṛsara*.¹ The Proto-Australoids knew the use of rice. As its use by the Aryans looks post-Rg-vedic, is it not likely that its introduction in Aryan dietary, like that of wheat, may have been due to their contact with the Dravidians and the Proto-Australoids.² The excavations at Maheshwara and Nāvdātoli have shown that people in this region were using wheat, rice, *masūra*, *māṣa*, *Arabhar*, gram, pea and *kulattba* as early as about 1200 B.C.³ while rice was a common food-grain in the Madhyadeśa about 800 B.C., as rice husk was used in mud plaster at Hastināpur.⁴

Some inferior varieties of cereals were also used.⁵ Of the pulses the most commonly used varieties were *Māṣa* (Kidneybeans),⁶

¹ Av. V. 3. Śaṅgvinśa Bra. V. 2.

² Rice grain is called *Tandula* and Chaff *palāṣa* (Av. XII. 3. 19.)

(a) Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6., Kath. Sam. X. 1. XV. 6, Tait. Sam. I. 8. 9. 3. Av. X. 9. 26., XI. 1. 18. XII. 3. 18, 3. 29, 3. 30, Ait. Bra. I. 1., Sat. Bra. I. 1. 4. 3., II. 5. 3. 4., V. 2. 3. 2, VI. 6. 5. 8, Tait. Bra. II. 8. 14. 3. Chand. Up. III. 14. 3.
See Chapter I, pp. 3. 4.

³ Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Vol. XXI, No. 4/84. Culture of Maheshwara Navdā Toli by H. D. Sankalla, p. 332.

⁴ Ancient India Nos. X and XI (1954-55), p. 129.

⁵ *Priyaṅgu*, (*Panicum Italicum*) Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, Tait. Sam. IV. 7. 4. Kath. Sam. X. 11, Bh. Up. VI. 3. 13.

Aṇu, (*Panicum Millaceum*) Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12.

Śyāmāka, (*Panicum frumentaceum*) Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, Tait. Sam. I. 8. 10, II. 3. 2, IV. 7. 4, Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6, II. 11. 4. Kath. Sam. X. 2, XV. 5, Sat. Bra. X. 6. 3. 2. XII. 7. 1. 9, Kaus. Bra. IV. 12.

इषा इषामाकः पप्रतप्त वषाह्नान् विद्यते ।

Av. XIX. 30. 4.

एष म सात्मा अन्तर्हृदये अणीषान् इषामाकाद् वा ।

Chand. Up. III. 14. 3.

Nirāra, Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, Kath. Sam. XII. 4. XV. 5, Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6., 4. 10., Tait. Sam. I. 8. 10, IV. 7. 4, Sat. Bra. V. 1. 4. 14., 3. 3. 1, Tait. Bra. I. 3. 6. 7. *Gavīdhukā* (*Coix Lacryma*) Tait. Sam. V. 4. 3. 2, Mait. Sam. II. 6. 5, IV. 3. 8, Vaj. Sam. XV. 5, Tait. Bra. I. 7. 3. 6, Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 2. 29, II. 4. 11. 13, IX. 1. 1. 8.

Amba or *Nāmba*. Tait. Sam. I. 8. 10. 1, Kath. Sam. XV. 5, Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6. Sat. Bra. V. 3. 3. 2. *Upandaka* (*Wrightia antidysenterica*). It was used in preparing groats and a gruel. Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22. 90. XXI. 30. Sat. Bra. XXXII. 7. 1. 3., 7. 1. 9.

⁶ Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, Tait. Sam. V. 1. 8, 1, VII. 2. 10. 2, Kath. Sam. XII. 7, XXXII. 7, Mait. Sam. IV. 3. 2, Av. XII. 2. 53, Sat. Bra. I. 1. 1. 10, Bh. Up. VI. 3. 22.

Mudga (*Phaseolus Mungo*)¹ and *Mashra*² (Lentils). But for some reason or other the use of *Māṣa* is indicted for sacrificial purposes.³ One of the pulse preparations was *Kulmāṣa*. It was prepared by stewing beans and mixing them with a little *guda* and oil.⁴ It seems to have generally been the food of the poor; but the rich ate it in times of scarcity.⁵

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk⁶ formed one of the principal ingredients of the food of Vedic Indians. Generally boiled cows' milk⁷ was taken. It

स रस गृह वसन्ताय प्रायच्छद् यवं ग्रीष्मापोषधीर्वर्षाम्यो, ब्रिहीच्छरदे मापतिलौ हेमन्तशिशिराम्बाम् ।

Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6.

यव ग्रीष्मापोषधीर्वर्षाम्यो ब्रिहीच्छरदे मापतिलौ हेमन्तशिशिराम्बाम् ।

Tait. Sam. VII. 2. 10. 2.

¹ Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. It was also cooked with rice (*Saṅkh Aran.* XII. 8).

² Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12., Brh. Up. VI. 3. 22. The Tait. Br. III. 8. 14. 6. mentions *Masāya* which seems to be a misreading for *Mashra*. Some other pulses *Safina* (a) a kind of pea, *Khalakula* (b) *Delichos biflorus*, *Garmuta* (c) (*Horse-grass*) and *Kasha* (*Phaseolus radiatus*) (d) are mentioned.

(a) Mait. Sam. II. 66. (b) Brh. Up. VI. 3. 13. (c) Tait. Sam. II. 4. 4., Kath. Sam. X. 11. Mait. Sam. II. 2. 4. (d) Av. II. 31. 1., V. 23. 81. Vaj. Sam. XVII. 12. Brh. Up. VI. 3. 22.

³ न माषाणामशनीयादवशिष्या वै माषाः ।

Mait. Sam. I. 4. 10.

न माषाणामशनीयादवशेष्या वै माषाः ।

Kath. Sam. XXXII. 7.

⁴ Nirukta I. 4. Chand. Up. I. 10. 2.

⁵ सहेम्भं कुल्माषाच्छादनं शिशिरे स ऽहो वाच । नेतोऽन्वे यच्च ये स इम उपनिहिता इति ।

Chand. Up. I. 10. 2.

Saṅkara on the above—

कुल्माषान् कुत्सितान् माषान्

⁶ *Kāra.* Rv. I. 164. 7. VIII. 2. 9., IX. 67. 32., X. 87. 16.

Peyar. Rv. I. 153. 4. I. 121. 5., VI. 52. 10.

Gō. Rv. I. 33. 10., 151. 8, 181. 8. IV. 27. 5., IX. 46. 4., 71. 5.

इह श्वीतु ईमङ्ग वेदास्य वामस्य निहितं पदं तेः ।

शीर्षः क्षीरं दुहते गावो अस्य बज्रि वतान्ता उदकं पदापुः ।

Rv. I. 164. 7.

उतो नो अस्य पूज्यः पतिर्दनीतं पातं यस्य उक्षियायाः ।

Rv. I. 153. 4.

⁷ Rv. I. 180. 3.

अमासु चिद् दधिषे पक्वमन्तः पयः कुल्यासु ह्वाद्रोहिणीषु ।

Rv. I. 62. 9.

अथ वाम् धनौ अरिवना स्तोमेन परिविच्यते ।

Rv. VIII. 9. 4.

was used in preparing a mess with grains¹ and a gruel with parched barley meal.² It was also mixed with *Soma* juice.³ Milk of buffaloes might also have been used in the R̥gvedic period.⁴ The popularity of milk in the later Vedic age is testified by the fact that the cow is called a blessing (*vara*).⁵ Fresh milk,⁶ boiled milk⁷ and cream of boiled milk⁸ were in common use. Goat's milk was also used.⁹ Beastings were not used for ten days.¹⁰ There were some people who lived on milk alone (*Payovrata*).¹¹

Milk was curdled by mixing with it a little sour milk, pieces of a creeper called *Pātikā*, bark of *Palāśa* tree or *Kwala* (Jujube).

¹ *Kṣīraudana*. See p. 10, f. n. 5.

² *Mantha*. See p. 9, f. n. 1.

³ *Gavātīra*. Rv. II. 41. 3.

Abhisri. Rv. IX. 86. 27.

⁴ The word *Mabija* (a buffalo) is frequently mentioned. Rv. V. 29. 7, VIII. 12. 8, 77. 10.

सखा सख्ये अपचत्तूयमनिरस्य कखा महिषा श्री शतानि ।

Rv. V. 29. 7.

⁵ वरो दक्षिणा ।

Tait. Brā. III. 12. 5. 7.

Sāyaṇa on the above—वर शब्देन गौरभिधीयते ।

तदाहुर्वा वै त्रिरेकस्याह्ण उपसीदन्ति दह्णं वै साध्वराभ्यां दोहाभ्यां कुहे ।

Tait. Sam. VII. 3. 31.

Cows were milked three times a day—in the morning, in the forenoon and in the evening. (See above).

⁶ *Pratidhuk*. Tait. Sam. II. 3. 3. 3, Kath. Sam. XVII. 6, Av. IX. 4. 4.

Sat. Brā. III. 3. 3. 2. Pamc. Brā. IX. 5. 5, XVIII. 4. 2. Tait. Brā. II.

7. 2.

गौर्वे अलिघुक् । तस्यै घृतं तस्यै शरस्तस्यै दधि तस्यै मस्तु तस्याऽप्रातश्चनं तस्यै नवनीतं तस्यै घृतं तस्या आमिक्षा तस्यै वाजिनम् ।

Sat. Brā. III. 3. 3. 2.

⁷ *Sṛta*. Sat. Brā. III. 2. 2. 10, VI. 3. 3. 2.

घृतं वै देवाना अ हविर्नाशृतम् ।

Sat. Brā. III. 2. 2. 10.

घृतम् पक्वं पयः ।

Sāyaṇa on Sat. Brā. III. 3. 3. 2.

⁸ *Sata*. Sat. Brā. III. 3. 3. 2.

शरः पक्वक्षीरस्योपरि सारभूतम् ।

Sāyaṇa on Sat. Brā. III. 3. 3. 2.

⁹ Tait. Sam. IV. 1. 6. 1, V. 1. 7. 4, Sat. Brā. XIV. 1. 2. 13.

¹⁰ तस्माद् वत्सं जातं दधराशीर्न कुहं ति ।

Tait. Brā. II. 1. 1.

¹¹ Sat. Brā. IX. 5. 1. 1.

Kauṣ. Brā. VIII. 9.

The curds prepared by mixing *Kwala* were not regarded as pure.¹ Curds were widely used.² Sometimes they were mixed with Soma Juice and barley meal.³ The process of churning with a churning stick was known.⁴ The mixture of curds and minute globules of butter when the latter have not been removed, was called *Prṣadāḥya*.⁵ We find the mention of *dadhanvat* which was probably cheese with two varieties, one with pores and the other without pores.⁶ A preparation of curds with boiled milk was very popular. The solid part of the preparation was called *āmikṣā*⁷ while the liquid part was called *Vājina*.⁸

¹ *Ataścana*. (a little sour milk).

यत्पुतीर्त्तवां पणवर्त्तवांस्तञ्ज्यात् क्षीर्यं तद्यत् क्वर्जं राक्षसं भ्रातनवित् ।

Tait. Sam. II. 5. 3. 5.

² Av. III. 12. 7. IV. 34. 6, Tait. Sam. II. 5. 3. 4, Kath. Sam. XXXIV. 3. Pāṇi. Bra. XVIII. 5. 12, Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 2. 12. Jaim. Bra. II. 348.

³ Rv. I. 127. 2, V. 51. 7, VII. 32. 4.

सुतं पावने सुता इमे शुचयो यन्ति वीतये सोमासो दध्याशिरः . Rv. I. 5. 5.

Karambha (barley meal with curds) See Chapter II, p. 8.

⁴ यत्र मन्थां विबभ्रते रश्मीन् यजितया इव ।

Rv. I. 28. 4.

Cf. Bṛhad. Up. VI. 3. 13.

⁵ Particles of butter produced by churning were called *Phāṣṣa*. Sat. Bra. III. 1. 3. 8.

Whey was called *Mastu*. Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2.

तस्माद् यज्ञात् सर्वद्वितः संभूतं पृथदाज्यम् । पशून् तस्मिन् वायव्यान् रण्णान् प्राग्व्यश्च ये ।

Rv. X. 90. 8.

पृथग्भिर्दधिबिन्दुभिर्मिश्रमाज्यम् पृथदाज्यम् ।

Sāyaṇa on Tait. Sam. III. 2. 6. 2.

⁶ Ved. Ind. I, p. 209.

According to Sāyaṇa '*dadhanvat*' simply denotes abundance of curds. दधन्वत इति दध्नोऽधिकत्वं क्षीतनामः ।

Sāyaṇa on Rv. VI. 48. 18.

अन्विद्रस्य दधन्वतः सुपूर्णस्य दधन्वतः ।

Rv. VI. 48. 18.

⁷ *Amikṣā* or *Payayā*.

Tait. Sam. II. 5. 3. 4, III. 3. 9. 2, VI. 2. 5. 3.

Mait. Sam. II. 1. 9. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, 23.

Av. X. 9, 13, Sat. Bra. I. 8. 1. 7, 8. 1. 9, III. 3. 3. 2.

Tait. Ar. II. 88. Jaim. Up. II. 438, Ch. Up. VIII. 8. 5.

पयस्या यजेत ।

Kaus. Bra. XIX. 7.

पयस्या ग्रामिणा ।

Sāyaṇa on Tait. Bra. V. 11.

⁸ Tait. Sam. I. 6. 3. 10, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, 23, Sat. Bra. II. 4. 4. 21, III. 3. 3. 2, IX. 5. 5. 7.

उष्णे दुग्धे दध्नि क्षिप्ते घनं भाग्यं ग्रामिणा । क्षिष्टं वाजिनम् ।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22.

Butter was heated before use with a view to clarifying it.¹ It was mixed with Soma juice² and used in frying *apñpas*³ and for dipping cakes in.⁴ It was also used in making offerings to gods and manes. While solidified clarified butter was used by grown up men, fresh butter was used by children.⁵

MEAT DIET

Meat eating is mentioned as early as the Rgvedic period. Fire is called the eater of ox and barren cows.⁶ The ritual offerings of flesh implied that the priests would eat it. A goat is also offered to fire to be carried to forefathers.⁷ A barren cow was also killed at the time of marriage⁸ obviously for food. Fish is mentioned in the Rgveda but it is difficult on the basis of this reference to conclude that the Rgvedic Indians consumed fish.⁹

¹ Rv. I. 134. 6, II. 10. 4, IV. 10. 6, 18. 8, V. 12. 1.

शुचि घृतम् न तप्तमन्वायाः।

Rv. IV. 1. 6.

² मावे नु ते मुमिते इन्द्र पूर्वीं चोर्मज्मना पृथिवी काम्येन।

वराय ते घृतवन्तः सुतप्तः स्वाधन् अन्नु पीतये मधूनि।

Rv. X. 29. 6.

³ Rv. X. 45. 9. See p. 19, f. n. 10 and 11.

⁴ पुरोडाशावाज्येनाभिषारिती।

Av. X. 9. 15.

⁵ *Ājya*. (melted butter)—विजीतम् सपिः। Śāyana on Ait. Bra. I. 3.

मास्यं च देशानां सुरभि घृतं मनुष्याणामायुतं पितॄणां नवनीलं गर्भाणां दधनवनीलेनाम्यञ्जयति।

Ait. Bra. I. 3.

Ghṛta. (Solidified clarified butter). घनीभूतम् सपिः। Śāyana. on Ibid.

Ājya. (Slightly melted butter). ईषद्विजीतं सपिः। Śāyana. on Ibid.

Navanīta. (Fresh butter) Tait. Sam. II. 3. 10. 1, VI. 1. 1. 5. Kath. Sam. XI. 7. Mait. Sam. II. 3. 4. Sat. Bra. III. 1. 3. 7. 1. 3. 8. Sat. Bra. V. 3. 7. 6. Jaim. Up. Bra. The phrase नवनीतं गर्भाणाम् may probably imply that fresh butter eaten by a pregnant woman pleases the embryo in the womb as the word 'garbha' also means embryo.

⁶ उवात्राय ववात्राय सोमपृष्ठाय वेधसेस्तोमेविधेभान्मये।

Rv. VIII. 43. 11.

⁷ अग्नौ भागरक्षपशा तं तपस्व तं ते शोचिस्तपनु तं ते प्रचिः।

यास्ते शिवास्तन्वो जातवेदस्तामिर्वहेतम् सुकृतामुचोकम्।

Rv. X. 16. 4.

⁸ अधामु हव्यन्ते गावो।

Rv. X. 85. 13.

⁹ अस्तापिनदं मधु पर्वपश्यन् अरस्यं न दीन उदनि क्षियन्तम्।

Rv. X. 68. 8.

A slaughter house is also mentioned.¹ The flesh of horses, rams, barren cows, sheep, and buffaloes was cooked.² Probably flesh of birds was also eaten.³

In the later Vedic period it was customary to kill a big ox or a big goat to feed a distinguished guest.⁴ Sometimes a cow that miscarried or a sterile cow was also killed.⁵ *Atithigra* also implies that cows were slain for guests.⁶ Many animals cows, sheep, goats, and horses continued to be killed at sacrifices and the flesh of these sacrificed animals was eaten by the participants.⁷ Many words in the sense of fishermen are used in the Yajurveda which makes us infer that the Aryans had included fish in their diet by that time.⁸

¹ *Sarana*. (a slaughter house).

नहि स्विस्ता स इन्द्र चेत्यासदक्षस्य यदभि नदोरसा एषत् ।

मित्रश्रुवो यच्छसने न गावः पृथिव्या आपृगमुया सयन्ते ।

Rv. X. 89. 14.

² Rv. V. 29. 7, 29. 8, VI. 17. 11, 17. 13, VIII. 12. 8.

यस्मिन्नस्वांस ऋषभास उक्षणी वशा मेवा श्वसुष्टास आहुताः ।

Rv. X. 91. 14.

पचच्छतं महिषां इन्द्र तुभ्यम् ।

Rv. VI. 17. 11.

³ श्वघ्नीव कृत्स्नुविज आभि नाना ।

Rv. I. 92. 10.

⁴ Av. III. 21. 6, Tait. Sam. I. 3. 14. 7.

गह्वोर्धं वा महाजं वा पथेत् ।

Sat. Bra. III. 4. 1. 2.

मनुष्यराज आगतेऽप्यस्मिन्वाहृतुक्षणं वा वेहृतं वा शदन्ते ।

Alt. Bra. III. 4. 15.

⁵ आयमानाभिजायते देवान्स आहुणान् वशा ।

तस्माद् ब्रह्मण्यो देवैषा तदाहुः स्वस्य गोपनम् ।

Av. XII. 4. 10.

⁶ Ved. Ind. I. p. 15., Alt. Bra. I. 15.

⁷ Mait. Sam. III. 14, Vaj. Sam. XIII. 47-51. Tait. Sam. IV. 2. 10. 1-4. Panch. Bra. XXI. 14. 5, Alt. Bra. VI. 8. Sat. Bra. IX. 7. 1. 3., Tait. Sam. I. 3. 8., Gopatha. Bra. III. 13. 18.

अथातः सवनीयस्य पशोर्विभागं व्याख्यास्यामः उद्धृत्वावदानानि हनु सजिह्वे प्रस्तोतुः
..... दक्षिणो पादो गृहपते व्रतप्रदास्य सव्यो पादो गृहपत्याः व्रतप्रदायाः सहैवेनयोरोष्ठ-
स्तं गृहपतिरेवानुशिनष्टि ।

Gopatha Bra. III. 18.

⁸ *Saughala*. Vaj. Sam. XIII. 16, Tait. Bra. III. 4. 12. 1.

Pāṇin. Av. XVIII. 1.

Baindra. Vaj. Sam. XXX. 16.

Kaivarta. Tait. Bra. III. 4. 12. 1.

Of the meat preparations the most common in the R̥gvedic period were flesh roasted on spits,¹ and boiled in pots. The latter was eaten with great relish.² Meat cooked with rice was much valued as food in the Upaniṣadic period.³

Some notion of pure and impure meat was present even in the days of the R̥gveda. A man cooked the entrails of a dog in extreme destitution.⁴ The cow, on account of its usefulness and the many blessings it provided was considered *aghnyā* (not to be killed).⁵ Sterile cows could perhaps, be killed a little more freely.⁶

Vegetarianism was perhaps also not unknown to the R̥gvedic Aryans. A devout offering of praise or of fuel stick or cooked food was considered as good as a more solemn sacrifice.⁷ Then there is a whole hymn addressed to *Pitṛ* (nutriment) which mentions all the articles of food except meat.⁸ In the later Vedic

Pañjigṭha. Vaj. Sam. XXVI. 27., Taṭt. Sam. IV. 5. 42. Mait. Sam. II. 9. 5., Kath. Sam. XVII. 13.

सरोम्यो धेवरमुपस्थाचराम्यो दास्यं वैशन्ताम्यो वैन्दं नद्वताम्यः शौकलं पाराय
मार्गारमवाराध कौवर्तं तीर्थेभ्यः किरातः३ सानुभ्यो ऋम्भकं पर्वतेभ्यः किम्भूतम् ।

Vaj. Sam. XXX. 16.

¹ Rv. I. 162. 11, Av. IX. 6. 17.

यत्ते गान्नादग्निना पचमानादग्निभूतं निहृत्स्माववावति ।

Rv. I. 162. 11.

² वस्त्रीक्षणं मांसचन्दो उक्षाया या पात्राणि दूष्ण शस्त्रेवतानि ।

ऊर्मव्यापिषानां चक्षुषामङ्गाः सूताः परिभूयन्तवश्चम् ।

Rv. I. 162. 13.

मांसं भिक्षा मुपासत ।

Rv. I. 162. 12.

³ *Māṇṣandana*. Brhad. Up. VI. 4. 18.

See p. 10, f. n. 10.

⁴ श्रवर्तां क्षुन आन्त्राणि वेधे ।

Rv. IV. 18. 13.

⁵ Rv. I. 164. 40, IV. 1. 6, V. 83. 8, VIII. 69. 2., X. 87. 16.

दुहामश्विभ्यां पयो अज्येयं सा वर्धतां महते सौमगाय ।

Rv. I. 164. 27.

⁶ Av. XII. 4. 10.

⁷ यः समिधा य आहुती यो वेदेन ददाया मर्तो अमन्ये यो नमसा स्वध्वरः ।

Rv. VIII. 19. 5.

⁸ उदपाभोवचीनां परिज्ञमारिषामहे । वातापे पीव हृद्भुव ।

यत्ते सोम यवाशिरो यवाशिरो भजामहे । वातापे पीव हृद्भुव ।

करम्भ भोवधे भव पीशो वृक्क उदारधिः । वातापे पीव हृद्भुव ।

Rv. I. 187. 8-10.

period a feeling of revulsion against meat eating, especially beef, is found in almost all our works.¹ The Atharvaveda regards beef eating as an offence against forefathers (Pitrs)². Brhaspati, it is said, takes away the progeny of those who consume a cow.³ There was also an injunction against the slaughter of horses in a sacrifice.⁴ People who observed a vow, generally, abstained from meat diet⁵ and Brāhmanas took only sanctified meat and that too of pure animals.⁶

SWEETS

Honey was, possibly, the earliest sweet thing Indians knew.⁷ It was taken out from two kinds of bees, one big *Arāṅgara* and the other small *Sāragha*.⁸ The latter kind was considered better than the former.⁹ It was used to sweeten food articles such as

¹ We find some exceptions even in this period for instance Yājñavalkya relished beef diet.

सुहोवाच याज्ञवल्क्योऽश्नाम्येवाह माऽऽसतं वैभ्रवतीति ।

Sat. Bra. III. 1. 2. 21.

² क्रूरमस्या आशसतं तुष्टं पिशितमस्यते ।

धीरं यदस्याः पीयते तद् वै पितॄषु किल्बिषम् ।

Av. V. 19. 5.

³ यो वेहृतं मत्स्यमानोऽमाच पचते वशाम्

अप्यस्य पुत्रान् पीत्राणच मानयते बृहस्पतिः ।

Av. XII. 4. 38.

⁴ इमं मा हि ऽऽ सीरेकशफं पशुं कनिकरं आजिजं वाजिनेषु

Vaj. Sam. XIII. 48.

⁵ Av. VI. 70. 1. Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 1. 29.

⁶ तदग्निहोत्रोच्छिष्टमप्यस्तस्यात्मा यथा परीण हो निर्वपेदेवं त तस्मात्तदद्यज्यं कश्च पिबेत् ईना ब्राह्मणः पिबेत् ।

Sat. Bra. II. 2. 1. 39.

तज्ज्ञे पञ्च पशवोऽभवंस्त एतज्ज्ञेतां मेध्याः धमेध्या अवजिवास्तेषां ब्राह्मणो ना-
श्नीयात् ।

Sat. Bra. XII. 1. 2. 39.

cf. Ait. Bra. VI. 8.

⁷ Rv. IV. 43. 5, 45. 3, X. 24. 6, Vaj. Sam. VI. 2, XXXVII. 10.

Av. VI. 69. 1, IX. 7. 22, Tait. Bra. III. 1. 2. 4, 1. 2. 13.

मध्वः पिबतं मधुपेभिरासभिहतं विर्यं मधुने युञ्ज्यायां रसम् ।

आवर्त्तन् मधुना जित्पयस्सपथो दूतिं बहेधे मधुमन्तमभिवना ।

Rv. IV. 45. 3.

⁸ आरङ्गरेव मध्वरेयेषे सारधेव गवि नीधीनवार ।

कीनारेव स्वेदमसिष्विधाना क्षामे वोर्जा मूयवसात सनेषे ।

Rv. X. 106. 10.

⁹ यशो ह वै मधु सारधम् ।

Sat. Bra. III. 11. 3. 13.

apāpa.¹ Its use is tabooed for women² and students.³

Sugarcane (*Jaku*) is not expressly mentioned in the *Rgveda*⁴ but is found in all the other *Saṃhitās*.⁵ Chewing of sugarcane is referred to in the *Atharvaveda*.⁶

Apāpa was a round cake of barley meal⁷ or rice flour⁸ baked in clarified butter⁹ on slow fire.¹⁰ Honey was added to sweeten it.¹¹ It is, probably, the earliest sweet preparation known to us.

SALTS AND SPICES

Salt is not mentioned in the *Rgveda* although the Salt range exists in the *Sapta Sindhu*, the region occupied by the *Rgvedic* Indians. In the rest of the Vedic Literature salt is frequently

¹ अपूपवान् मधुमांश्चरेह सीदतु ।

Av. XVIII. 4. 22.

² शस्यादुल स्विषो मधु नाश्नन्ति पुत्राणामिदं व्रतम् चराम इति वदन्तीः ।

Jaim. Up. Bra. I. 15. 2.

³ न ब्रह्मचारी सन्मध्वदनीयात् ।

Sat. Bra. XI. 3. 4. 18.

⁴ However, according to B. Majumdar *Kadara*. (Rv. I. 191. 3.) refers to sugarcane. The word is still used for sugarcane in Bengal.

शरासः कुशरासो दध्नासः सैर्षा जत । मौञ्जा अदृष्टा वैरिणाः कर्वे साकं न्यलिप्यत ।

Rv. I. 191. 3.

⁵ Av. I. 34. 5., XII. 2. 54, 100, 277. Mait. Sam. III. 7. 9., IV. 2. 9. Vaj. Sam. XXV. 1. Tait. Sam. III. 8.

⁶ परित्वा परित्वुने क्षुण्णगाम विद्विषे ।

यथा मां नामिष्यसो यथा मन्त्रापया असः ।

Av. I. 34. 1.

⁷ यवमयमपूपं कृत्वा यत्र गार्हपत्य माषास्यन्मवति तन्निदधति ।

Sat. Bra. II. 2. 3. 13.

⁸ व्रीहिमयमपूपं कृत्वा यत्र गार्हपत्य माषास्यन्मवति तन्निदधति ।

Sat. Bra. II. 2. 3. 12.

⁹ and ¹⁰ यस्ते अथ कृणवद् भद्रशोचेऽपूपं देव घृतवन्तमग्ने ।

घृतवन्तम्—in clarified butter.

भद्रशोचे—on slow fire.

Rv. X. 45. 9.

Rv. III. 31. 1.

Sat. Bra. IV. 2. 3. 19.

Also please see Appendix I.

¹¹ 'See f. n. (1) above'.

mentioned.¹ Some spices such as brassica (*baja*),² *Jambila* (*citrus aurantium*)³, turmeric⁴, and long pepper⁵ were also probably used in the preparation of food articles.

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Sesame was used as a food article.⁶ The two common preparations were a gruel⁷ and a porridge.⁸ A wild variety of *Sesamum* (*Jartila*) was also used in preparing a porridge.⁹ Sesamum oil is not mentioned in the *R̥gveda* but is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*.¹⁰ Mustard is mentioned in the *Upaniṣads* and *Brāhmaṇas*.¹¹ The use of oil was perhaps commoner with the non-Aryans than the Aryans.¹²

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

Flowering and fruit bearing plants are mentioned in the

¹ Av. VII. 76. 1. Sat. Bra. V. 2. 1. 16. Jaim Up. III. 17. 3. Brh. Up. 4. 12. Chand. Up. IV. 17. 7.

लवणेन सुवर्णं सन्दध्यात् ।

Gopatha Brh. I. 14.

ए यथा संधव खिल्य उदके प्रास्त ।

Bṛh. Up. II. 4. 12.

² *Baja* (brassica). Av. VIII. C. 3. VIII. 6. 6.

³ *Jambila*. Mait. Sam. III. 13. 3.

Kath. Sam. V. 2. 1. Vaj. Sam. XV. 3.

⁴ *Haridra*. (Long turmeric) Av. XII. 24. 2.

⁵ *Pippali*. (Epuloides, Long Pepper) Av. VI. 103.

⁶ Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12., Mait. Sam. IV. 3. 2., Tait. Sam. VII. 2. 10. 2., Av. IV. 7. 3, II. 8. 3, VI. 140. 2, XVIII. 3, 69, 4. 32.

Sat. Bra. IX. 1. 1. 3.

Stalks of Sesame (*Tilapiṇja*) were used as fuel (Av. XII. 2. 14).

⁷ Av. IV. 7. 3.

⁸ Bṛh. Up. VI. 4. 16.

⁹ Tait. Sam. V. 4. 3. 2.

उभयभेत्तदन्ने यज्जतिला यच्च ग्राम्यं यन्धारण्यम्

यदहं तिलस्तेन ग्राम्यं यदकृष्टं पच्यते तेनारण्यम् ।

Sat. Bra. IX. 1. 1. 3.

¹⁰ यः कुमारी पिङ्गलिका वसन्तं पीवरी लभेत् । तैलकुम्भमिमाकृष्टं रोदन्तं शुद्धमुदरेत् ।

Av. XX. 136. 16.

¹¹ Śaṅg. Brh. V. 2.

एव म आत्मान्तर्द्धयेज्जोषान् वीहिर्वा यवाद् वा सर्पपादाव्यामाकाङ्क्षा व्यामाक-
तष्ठुलाद् वा लोकेभ्यः ।

Chand. Up. III. 14. 3.

¹² मग्ने तैलस्य प्राशान् यातुवानान् चिलापय ।

Av. I. 7. 2.

Rgveda.¹ It is obvious also that fruits were a valuable part of Arya dietary² but we come across specific names only in the later Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. Three varieties of jujube,³ *bilva* (aegle marmelos)⁴ and *Kharjūra* (Phoenixilvestris)⁵ are mentioned in the Yajurveda. Mango is for the first time mentioned in the Sat. Bra.⁶ while *Amalaka* (myrobalan fruit) in the Jaim. Up. Bra.⁷ Jujube was also eaten by the people of Maheshwar Navdātoli about 1200 B.C.⁸

¹ Rv. VI. 49. 14. VII 34. 23, 35. 57, X. 97. 1. Av. XIX. 3. 1.

ओषधीरिति मातरस्तदो देवी रूपकुवे । सनेयमश्वं मां वास आस्तनं तव पुत्र ।

Rv. X. 97. 4.

याः कलिनीर्षा अफला अपुष्पा याश्च पुष्पिणीः । बृहस्पतिप्रसूतास्तानो मुञ्चन्वंहः ।

Rv. X. 97. 15.

तन्नो रायः पर्वतास्तत्र आपस्तदतिवाच ओषधीस्त ओः ।

वनस्पतिभिः पृथिवी सजोषा उमे रोदसी परिपालतो नः ।

Rv. VII. 34. 23.

² Rv. X. 97. 5.

मुञ्चन्तु मां शपथ्यादधो वरुण्यादुत । कषो कमस्त पदवीशात् सर्वस्मादेव किलिष-
पात् ।

Rv. X. 97. 16.

त वा अरण्यानिर्हृत्यन्यश्चेन्नाभियच्छति । स्वादोः फलस्य जम्बवाय यथाकामं निपद्यते ।

Rv. X. 146. 3.

Also see X. 146. 6. III. 45. 4.

³ Jujube fruit was also used in preparing groats.

Sat. Bra. V. 5. 4. 12. XII. 9. 1. 5.

Badara. (a large sized Jujube)—Kath. Sam. XX. 20, Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22. 90, XXI. 30, Tait. Bra. I. 8. 5. 1. Sat. Bra. V. 4. 10, XII. 7. 1. 3, 7. 2. 9. 9. 1. 8. Jaim. Br. II. 136. 3.

Kwala. (an average sized soft Jujube) Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22, 89, XXI. 29. Sat. Bra. V. 4. 10.

Karkandhu (a small sized jujube) Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Kath. Sam. XII. 10. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 23. XXI. 32.

⁴ Av. XX. 136. 13, Mait. Sam. III. 9. 3.

Ait. Bra. II. 1. Sat. Bra. XIII. 4. 4. 8.

⁵ Kath. Sam. XI. 10, XXXVI. 71.

यतीनामद्यमानानां ॐ बीर्वाणि अराधयन्ते खर्वूरा अभवन् ।

Tait. Sam. II. 4. 9. 2.

⁶ यथास्रन्वोदुम्बरश्चापिप्लव्वा वम्बनात् प्रमुच्येतैवमे वायु ॐ शारीर आत्मैर्म्योऽ-
ङ्गैश्चैः सम्प्रमुच्य पुनः प्रतिन्वायप्रतिबोन्वाहवति प्राणायैव ।

Sat. Bra. XIV. 7. 1. 41.

⁷ वं तद् वात वाग्वाऽमलकाण्डे नागातेजति हाह्मन्तं तद् अवक्षयत् ।

Jaim. Up. Bra. I. 38. 6.

⁸ See p. 11, f. n. 3.

Also see Chand. Up. VII. 3. 1.

Of the vegetables cucumber (*Urvāruka*)¹ and lotus stalks (*bisa*)² were known to the R̥gvedic Indians. The latter was probably in common use with the edible roots of lotus (*Sāluka*)³ and *alāhu* (bottle gourd)⁴. *Sapbaka* (*Trapabispinosa*)⁵ also seems to have been used as a food article. People of Maheshwar Navdātoli used beans about 1200 B.C.⁶

BEVERAGES

Of the beverages of the Vedic Indian—*Soma* Juice was the most important.⁷ The plant was brought from some mountains especially Maujavanta.⁸ The process of extracting the juice is described in detail. The stalks were crushed between two stones.⁹

¹ Av. VI. 14. 2, Mait. Sam. I. 10. 4, Tait. Sam. I. 8. 62, Vaj. Sam. III. 60.
 उर्वारुकमिव बन्धनान्मृत्योर्मुक्षीय मामृतात् ।

Rv. VII. 59. 12.

² इव शुष्मेभिर्विसृष्टा इव ।

Rv. VI. 61. 2.

Also see Av. IV. 34. 5, Ait. Bra. V. 30, Ait. Ār. III. 2. 4. Sākh. Ar. XI. 4.

³ Av. IV. 35. 5.

⁴ Av. VIII. 10. 29 and 30.

⁵ Av. IV. 39. 5.

Some other plants are mentioned :—

Mulāli (*Trapabispinosa*)—Av. IV. 34. 5.

Anaka (*Blysea Clandra*—an aquatic plant)

Av. IV. 37. 8, VIII. 7. 9, 37. 38. 10. Tait. Sam. IV. 6. 1. 1, V. 4. 2.

Kapittha (*Ferrea Limonia*) Av. IV. 2. 8.

Āśālikā (*Nymphaea alba*) Av. IV. 35. 5, IV. 17. 16.

Madhūgha (a sweet herb) Av. I. 34. 4, VI. 122. 3.

Āśvabala Sat. Bra. III. 4. 1, 17., III. 6. 3, 10.

Madhūka (*Bassia Latifolia*) Av. I. 34. 5.

Upanā (Sat. Bra. III. 4. 3, 13, and IV. 2. 5, 15).

Prapaśa (Panc. Bra. VIII. 4. 1.) and *Ādāra* (Kath. Sam. XXIV. 3.,

(Sat. Bra. IV. 5. 10. 4.) were used as substitutes for Soma.

⁶ See p. 11, f. n. 3.

⁷ निरवस्तोऽत्र वनस्पतिर्धनिमलः सर्वेषु । हित्वा नो मानुषा युगा ।

Rv. IX. 12. 7.

The exact identity of the Soma plant is controversial. Dr. J. M. Unwala has on the basis of Vedic and Avestan references identified it with 'Ephedra.'

See Vallabha Vidya Nagar Research Bulletin. Vol. I. Issue 2, pp. 7-10. Also see appendix VIII B on beverages.

⁸ Rv. I. 93. 6, III. 48. 2, V. 36. 2, 43. 4, 85. 2.

परि सुवानो गिरिष्ठाः पवित्रे सोमा अक्षः । मदेयु सर्वथा अग्नि ।

Rv. IX. 18. 1.

⁹ Rv. 65. 25, 66. 29, 70. 7.

आवा यत्र वदति काशरक्थस्तत्स्येदिन्द्रो अभिपित्वेषु रण्यति ।

Rv. I. 83. 6.

They were sometimes pounded in a mortar with a pestle.¹ Before crushing, the plant was washed in water.² In order that it may yield copious juice, water was sprinkled on the stalks.³ It was pounded with both hands.⁴ Women sang songs when they squeezed the juice of the plant with their fingers.⁵

Soma juice was pressed in very large quantities⁶ and was poured upon a strainer for removing the impurities.⁷ It was stored in jars or wooden tubs and was either brown, ruddy or tawny.⁸ It was mixed with curds, clarified butter or milk to improve its taste.⁹ Other preparations with which it was mixed were *Karambha*, *dhānāḥ*, *apāpa*, *pakti*, *saktu*, water and honey.¹⁰

¹ मत्र मन्थां विवघ्नते रश्मीन्यमित या इव । उधूखल सुतानामवेदिन्व जल्मुतः ।

Rv. I. 28. 4.

मथो इन्द्राय पातये सुनु सोममुलूखल ।

Rv. I. 28. 6.

² मधद्विः परिधिच्यसे मुज्यमानो गभस्त्वोः ।

cf. Rv. IX. 16. 2.

Rv. IX. 65. 6.

³ Rv. IX. 74. 9., Av. IX. 6. 16.

⁴ Rv. IX. 72. 5.

⁵ समुत्था धीमिरस्वरन् ह्रिचतीः सप्त जाययः । विप्रमात्रा विवस्वतः ।

Rv. IX. 66. 8.

⁶ इन्द्र सोमासः प्रदिवि सुतासः समृद्धं न खवत आविस्वति ।

Rv. III. 46. 4.

⁷ अन्तः पवित्रे आहितः ।

Rv. IX. 12. 5.

⁸ *Kalāṣṣu* (Vessels) Rv. IX. 12. 5.

Droṇa (Wooden tubs) Rv. IX. 15. 7, 33. 2.

Babhrū (brown) Rv. IX. 33. 2, 63. 4, 63. 6.

Hari (tawny) Rv. IX. 3. 9.

Arūṇa (ruddy) Rv. IX. 40. 2, 41. 3.

⁹ *Dadhyādīra* Rv. IX. 23. 3, 101. 12.

Ghṛtaṃ Vasanāḥ Rv. IX. 82. 2.

Parīkṣitāḥ gobhiḥ Rv. IX. 61. 13, 46. 4, 64. 28.

Sūdukaṛmāḥ gobhiḥ Rv. VIII. 2. 3.

¹⁰ इमं जम्भन्तुं पिव तानावृणतं करम्भिणामपूपयन्तुमिदमन् ।

Rv. VIII. 91. 2.

पूपयन्ते ते चक्रुमा करम्भं हरिषते हव्यं स्वाय धानाः ।

अपूपमद्वि सगणो मधद्विः सोमं पिव कृत्रहा शूर विद्वान् ।

Rv. III. 52. 7.

त सोम आमिस्तुतमः सुतोभूद् यस्मिन् पक्तिः पच्यते सन्ति धानाः ।

Rv. VI. 29. 4.

यस्य मा पक्ष्वाः शतमुद्धर्षयन्त्युक्षणः अरवमेधस्य दानाः सोमा इव आशिः ।

Rv. V. 27. 5.

आशिः सक्तवः एयोषाना इति सोम मिश्राणि धीणि ।

Mādhava on Rv. V. 27. 5.

According to Vedic descriptions Soma juice was sweet and delicious in taste.¹ It was believed that it inspired confidence, courage, faith and self-trust and bestowed powers of eloquence and immortality.² It was called pure, purifying,³ and the most heavenly nectar.⁴ A strong mixture of Soma Juice, called *Pañcadaśa*, is also mentioned.⁵

Another beverage of the Vedic period was *Surā* (intoxicating liquor) which was prepared from fermented barley or wild paddy

मद्भिः सोमं पयवानस्य ते रसोऽग्न्यो वारं विपवमानं धावति ।

स मृज्यमानः कविभिर्मदितुम् स्वदस्वेन्द्राय पवमानं पीतवे ।

Rv. IX. 74. 9.

पावमानीषो अभ्येत्युपिभिः सम्भृतं रसं ।

तस्मै सरस्वती दुहे क्षीरं सपिर्ममूदकम् ।

Rv. IX. 67. 32.

¹ स्वादुधिकायं मधुर्मां उतायं तीव्रः किकायं रसवीं उतायम्

Rv. VI. 47. 1.

मधु (Sweet), स्वादु (delicious)

² अयं मे पीत उदिमति वाचमयं मनीषामुशतीमजीगः ।

अयं पलुर्वीरमिमीत क्षीरो न याग्र्यो भुवनं कञ्चतारे ।

Rv. VI. 47. 3.

सोमः पक्वे जनिता मतीनां जनिता विषो जनिता पुषिभ्याः ।

जनितान्मेजनिता सूर्यस्य जनितेन्द्रस्य जनितोत विष्णोः ।

Rv. IX. 96. 5.

यो न दग्धुः पितरो हूयु पीतीऽमत्यो मत्यां आविवेश ।

तस्मै सोमाय हविषा विधेम मूर्ध्नि अत्य सुमती स्वाय ।

Rv. VIII. 48. 12.

³ शुचि (pure) पावक (purifying)

Rv. IX. 24. 7.

⁴ दिवः पीयूषं पूष्यम् ।

Rv. IX. 110. 8.

The above qualities of Soma juice show that it was a drink very different from *Surā*. When Soma plant could not be had some other plants such as *Pātikā* and *Arjuna* were used as its substitutes. Also see Appendix VIII B.

यदि सोमं न किन्देयुः पूतीकानभिपुण्युर्बदि न पूतीकानज्जुनानि ।

Tāpdyā Bra. IX. 1. 3.

⁵ पथानिते तीव्रं मुतं पञ्चदशं निपिञ्चम् ।

Rv. X. 27. 2.

Pāta might have been some other beverage but is identified with Soma by *Sāyana*. It is frequently mentioned Rv. I. 122. 1, I. 155. 1, VIII. 92. 1, X. 88. 1.

अ नः पान्तं रभुमन्यवीजधी यज्ञं रुद्राय मीहुलुषे भरध्वम् ।

Rv. I. 122. 1.

after distillation.¹ But while the use of Soma Juice was highly commended that of *Surā* was condemned. Drinking *Surā* gave rise to broils in the assembly.² Its popularity in the later Vedic period is, however, evident from a verse in the Atharvaveda where it is mentioned as a reward for the performance of sacrifices.³ The praise of *Surā* in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the placing of *Surā* vessel in the hands of a king⁴ makes us conclude that the Kṣatriyas were generally in the habit of drinking *Surā*.

But the evil effects of drinking were known. It is regarded as one of the seven sins forbidden by the Vedas⁵ and is classed with anger, senselessness and dicing.⁶ Realising its evil effects the Brāhmaṇas avoided drinking⁷ and good kings like Aśvapati proudly declared that there was no drunkard in their kingdoms.⁸

¹ Rv. VIII. 2. 12., I. 116. 7., X. 131. 4, 131. 5.

Rv. VII. 86. 6, VIII. 21. 14., Mait. Sam. I. 2. 6. II. 4. 2. IV. 2. 1. Tait. Sam. I. 3. 3. 2. Sat. Bra. XII. 7. 3. 8, I. 6. 3. 2, Chand. Up. V. 10. 9.

² हस्तु पीतासो युष्यन्ते दुर्मशासो न सुरायाम् । ऊधर्नं नमो बरन्ते

Rv. VIII. 2. 12.

एतद्वै देवानां परममं यत्तोमः एतन्मनुष्याणां यस्तुरा ।

Tait. Bra. I. 3. 3. 2-3.

³ घृतहृदा मधुकूलाः सुरोदकाः क्षीरेण पूर्णा उदकेन दध्ना . . . ऊपात्वा तिष्ठन्तु पुष्करिणीः समन्ताः ।

Av. IV. 34. 6.

⁴ मम यस्तुरा भवति क्षत्र रूपं तदधो ममस्य रसः क्षत्र रूपे वास्मिस्तद्व्यात्यधो ममस्य रसम् । ममास्मै सुराकांतं हस्त आदधाति ।

Ait. Bra. XXXVII. 4.

⁵ सप्त मर्यादाः कवयस्ततस्तुस्तासामिकाविदम्यंहरोवात् ।

आयोर्हं स्कम्भ उपमस्य नीले पथा विसर्गे वरक्षेयु तस्यो ।

Rv. X. 5. 6.

स्तेषां गृहताल्पारोहणं ब्रह्महत्या सुरायाम्

दुष्कृतकर्मणः पुनः पुनः सेवां पातकेऽनृतायम् ।

Nirukta VI. 27.

⁶ न-स्वोदसो वरुण ध्रुतिः सा सुरा कन्युर्विभीक्ष्वो भवितिः ।

Rv. VII. 86. 6.

⁷ तस्माज्ज्यायाश्च कनीयाश्च स्तुया वसुसुरश्च सुरापीत्वा क्षालयत आस्ते । पाप्मा वैमत्स्यं तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः सुरां न पिबति ।

Kath. Sam. XIII. 2.

⁸ उवाच न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कवयो न मक्षयो भगवन्त इति ।

Chand. Up. V. 11. 5.

Another common intoxicating drink was *parisuta*.¹ It was prepared either from flowers or by fermenting certain grasses,² while *Kilāla* was a sweet drink prepared from cereals.³ The preparations of another drink called *Māsara* is described in the Yajurveda.⁴ It was prepared with a mixture of mess of rice and some spices which was allowed to ferment for three days.⁵ This beverage was purified with the help of a filter.⁶

Water is described as nectar (*amṛta*) and a remedy (*bhoṣaja*).⁷ Main sources of water were rivers, wells, springs. Rain water was also used for drinking.⁸

¹ Vaj. Sam. XIX. 15. XX. 39, XXI. 29, Mait. Sam. III. 11.2. Av. III. 12. 7, XX. 127. 9; Sat. Bra. V. 1. 2. 14.

त वा एष परिक्षुतो यशस्तायतेऽग्राद्या नै ब्राह्मणेन परिक्षुतं सञ्ज्ञतं दनाद्यज्जायतेस्मा ।
Sat. Bra. XII. 9. 1. 1.

² पुष्पोन्मोनिः सुतं सारम् ।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. II. 34.

कुलायन् कृष्णन् कीरव्यः पतिर्वेदति जामया ।

कतस्त्वं त आहुराणि दधि मन्थां परिक्षुतम् ।

Av. XX. 127. 8-9.

सुरासाधनाय पर्याप्तं परिषाकैः शण्यैनिष्पन्नो रसः परिरुद्धिषुच्यते ।

Harisvāmī on Sat. Bra. V. 1. 2. 14.

³ Av. IV. 11. 10. 26. 6. 27. 5. VI. 69. 1. X. 6. 25. XII. 1. 19. Tait. Bra. II. 6. 12. 13, Mait. Sam. II. 7. 12, III. 11. 3. 4.

⁴ Vaj. Sam. XIX. 14, 82; Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. 9.

Tait. Bra. 6. 11. 3. 6. 11. 4.

⁵ ब्रीहि श्यामाकौटमाचामयोः शण्यं तोनम स्राजं नमद्बु बूर्वीः संसर्वां मातरम् ।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 14.

मासरम् त्वं निक्षितम् सूक्ष्मं यव चूर्णम् ।

Sāyana on Tait. Bra. II. 6. 11. 3.

According to Sāyana *Māsara* means powdered barley meal mixed with butter milk. The interpretation of Sāyana does not seem to be correct in view of the method of preparation described in the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra. XIX. 1. 20-22.

⁶ See Ch. III, p. 44.

⁷ Rv. X. 101. 7, Kauṣṭaki Bra. XII. 1. Tait. Bra. I. 7. 6. 5. Bṛh. Up. VII. 10. 1.

अप्स्वन्तरमृतमप्सु भेषजम् । अणामृतं प्रशस्तिभिरस्वा भवथ वाजिनो गावो भवथ वाजिनीः ।

Av. I. 4. 4.

समृताहायः ।

Tait. Bra. I. 7. 6. 3.

⁸ शतं आपो हंसवतीः, समुते सन्तूस्थाः । शते सनिष्कदा आपः समुते सन्तु वध्याः ।

शते आपोघन्वन्ताः शते सन्तवन्प्याः । शते सनिविना आपः यो याः कुम्भेभिरामृताः ।

अनन्नयः खनमाना विप्रायम्भीरे अपसः । भिषग्भ्यो भिद्वतराः आपो यच्छा वदामसि ।

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The art of cooking¹ was well developed as early as the R̥gvedic period. The processes of cleaning food grains with a sieve and grinding them were known.² Preparation of such food articles as *Kṛtara* and *Pr̥thuka* shows a very high stage of development. Meat was not only roasted and cooked in the form of a soup but also cooked with rice.

There were cooks and servers of food.³ Many implements and utensils were used in cooking. Some of these were made of clay, wood and stone while others were made of metals. Leather vessels were used for storing liquids.⁴

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

Vedic Indians laid great stress on the virtue of hospitality. Even their beloved god fire is called a guest (*atithi*) in the R̥gveda.⁵ In another verse it is considered a sin to take food

अपामह दिव्यानामपां श्रोतस्यानाम् । अपामह प्रणे जनेष्ववा भवथ वाजिनः ।
ता अपः शिवा अपोऽव्यग्रमं करणीरपः । ययैव हृष्यते मयस्तास्त आदत्त भेषजीः ।

Av. XIX. 2. 1-5.

Seventeen kinds of waters are mentioned in the Sat. Bra.

ता वा एताः सप्तदशापः सम्भरति ।

Sat. Bra. V. 3. 4. 12.

¹ Cooked food is called *pakva* or *Parata*.

Av. VI. 119. 2, XII. 3. 55, Sat. Bra. I. 3. 1, 26. 6. 1, 9., Rv. I. 61. 7. X. 116. 8.

² सक्नुमिव तिलजना पुनन्तो ।

Rv. X. 71. 2.

उपलप्रक्षिणी मना ।

Rv. IX. 112. 3.

According to the authors of the Vedic Index Vol. I, p. 94, the corn in this period was ground in mortars with pestles and '*apala*' simply means a mortar. Dr. H. D. Sankalia thinks that the people of Maheshwar Navda Toli region used two pieces of stone for grinding corn such as wheat and gram and the circular stones were used by Indians about the beginning of the Christian era as a result of their contact with the Greeks and the Romans. See Journal of the Gujarat Research Society Vol. No. 4/84, p. 332.

³ *Parivēgātārāḥ* (servers) Av. IX. 6. 5. 1.

Pakr (cooks) Av. XI. 3. 17.

Śrapayitr (cooks) Sat. Bra. I. 2. 2. 14.

⁴ See *Appendix A* (pp. 32-33).

⁵ Rv. I. 51. 6, I. 112. 14. VI. 47. 22, VII. 3. 5.

अहं पुरो मन्दसानो आरं तव साकं नवतीः शम्बरस्य
गततमं वेद्यं सर्वताडा दिवोदासभतिधियं यदावम् ।

Rv. IV. 26. 3.

without feeding a hungry person.¹ In the Atharvaveda feeding a guest, without hatred or doubt², is considered as meritorious as performing a sacrifice.³ The Brāhmaṇas consider feeding a guest as meritorious as worshipping God Himself⁴ and prescribe that a great goat or a barren cow should be killed for a distinguished guest.⁵

Next to hospitality much emphasis was laid on purity of food, as the Vedic Indians were of opinion that proper mental make up of a person depended on the purity of food.⁶ Practice of washing the mouth before taking meals and after meals was common.⁷ Leavings of food were not taken except in a dire calamity.⁸ Friends could, however, even partake of drinks from the same cup.⁹ The food cooked by a woman in her

¹ यं साधाय चक्रमावाय पितृषोऽन्नवाग्लतन् रक्षितोषोपजम्भये ।

स्थिरं मनः कृणुते सेवते पुरोतोचित्स मङ्गितारं न विन्दते ।

Rv. X. 117. 2.

मोचमन्नं विन्दते अग्रचेताः तत्त्वं ब्रवीमि यद्य इत्स तस्य ।

नार्यमणं पुष्यति नो सत्त्वायं केवस्तापोभवति केवतादी ।

Rv. X. 117. 6.

² स य एवं विद्वान् द्विवचस्वीवाद् द्विवतोऽन्नमदनीयाश्च मीमांसितस्य न मीमांसमानस्य ।

Av. IX. 6. 24.

³ यद् पुरा परिवेषाद् सावमाहुरन्ति पुरोडाशावेव तौ ।

यदशनं कृतं ह्वयन्ति हविष्कृतमेव तद्व्यवन्ति ।

Av. IX. 6. 13.

Also see Śat Brā. VII. 3. 2. 1, Ait. Ar. I. 1. 1, Tait. Up. I. 2. 2, III. 10.

⁴ मय यदातिव्येन यजन्ते विष्णुमेव देवतां यजन्ते ।

Sat. Brā. XII. 1. 3. 4.

⁵ Sat. Brā. III. 4. 1. 2. See Chap. II, p. 16, f. n. 4.

⁶ आहारशुद्धौ सत्वशुद्धिः सत्वशुद्धौ ध्रुवास्मृतिः स्मृतिसम्भवे सर्वग्रन्थीनां विप्रसोक्षः ।

Chand. Up. VII. 26. 2.

⁷ तद्विद्वान् स श्रोत्रिणा अक्षिष्यन्त साचामन्त्यशित्वा चामन्त्यैतमेव तदन्नम् कुर्वन्तो मन्वन्ते ।

Bṛhad. Up. VI. 1. 14.

सहो वाच कि मे वासो भविष्यतीत्याप इति होचुस्तस्माद्वा एतदक्षिष्यन्तः पुरस्ताच्छ्रो-
त्रिष्ठाच्छुद्धिः परिदधति तम्भुकोह वातो मवस्य तग्नोह भवति ।

Chand. Up. V. 2. 2.

⁸ न स्थिदेतेऽप्युच्छिष्टा इति न वा अजीविष्यमिमान् खादन्निति हो वाच कामो म उद-
पात निति ।

Chand. Up. I. 10. 4.

⁹ पीत्वा यं राति शयेत तस्मा एतां प्रयच्छेत्तद्वि मित्रस्य रूपं मित्र एवैनां तदन्ततः
तिष्ठायति तथाग्र हि मित्रे प्रतितिष्ठति

Ait. Brā. VIII. 8.

courses was considered impure.¹ Milk of a cow was not used for ten days after she had calved.² Even the entrails of a dog, however, could be taken in a dire necessity.³

In the Brāhmaṇas we find some traces of the idea of pollution of food by contact with persons of low caste. People refuse to dine with Kavaṣa because he was the son of a maid servant.⁴ A Kṣatriya loses his caste by dining with members of other castes.⁵ In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa even a Sūdra is given a place in the Soma sacrifice⁶ but the Kāthaka Saṁhitā does not allow a Sūdra to milk a cow whose milk was to be used in a sacrifice.⁷ Dining with non-Aryans was considered a sin.⁸ Vedic Indians used to recite a prayer to food before they took their meals.⁹ They also made offerings to gods before they began eating newly ripened corn as a token of gratitude to them for enabling them to enjoy the produce of a new crop.¹⁰

Moderation in food is advised from very early times. It is said that if a person took his food only twice a day he would be so wise, and intelligent that his sayings would never fail.¹¹

¹ तास्या श्रममद्यात् ।

Tait. Sam. II. 5. 1. 5-6.

तदाहुर्वै श्राहिताग्निर्वदि मृतकान्नं प्राप्नीयात्का तन्न प्रायश्चित्तिरिति ।

Alt. Bra. VII. 9.

² तस्माद् वस्तजालं दद्यात् रात्रीर्न दुहन्ति ।

Tait. Bra. II. 1. 1. III. 1. 3.

³ See Chapt. II. (p. 17, f. n. 4), Rv. IV. 18. 13.

⁴ Kaus. Bra. XII. 3.

⁵ Alt. Bra. VII. 29.

⁶ चत्वारो वै वर्णाः । ब्राह्मणो राजन्यो शूद्रो न हूतेषामेकश्चन भवति यः सोमं वमति स मद्धेतेषामेकश्चित् स्यात् स्वादेव प्रायश्चित्तिः ।

Sat. Bra. V. 5. 4. 49.

⁷ दोषव्यमेवेति न शूद्रो दुह्यादसतो वा ।

Kath. Sam. XXXI. 2.

⁸ Panca. Bra. XVII. 1. 9. XII. 3.

⁹ स्वादो पितो मधो मितो ययं त्वा ववृमहे । प्रसमाकमविताभवः ।

Rv. I. 187. 2.

¹⁰ तदाहुर्वै श्राहितग्निं रासयन्तेनानिष्ट्वा नन्नान्नं प्राप्नीयात् का तन्न प्रायश्चित्तिरिति ।

Alt. Bra. VII. 29.

¹¹ न भवत्यनृतं हि कृत्वा मेघति तस्मादु सायं प्रातराप्येव स्यात् ।

Sat. Bra. II. 4. 2. 6.

तस्माद् द्वि रहो मनुष्येभ्य उपह्रियते ।

Tait. Bra. II. 4. 1. 6.

People observed a fast whenever they performed some sacrifice.¹

We can also form some idea of the rules of etiquette. From a simile in the *R̥gveda* we learn that the Vedic Indians took their meals in a sitting posture.² Men avoided taking meals with their wives³ and women, generally, did not take their food in the presence of male members.⁴

Students were expected to go out to beg food for it was supposed that the practice created a sense of humility in them.⁵ We also find the beginnings of some taboos in the *Saṁhitās*. The use of exudation of trees (*niryāsa*) was forbidden on account of its red colour.⁶ *Māṣa* pulse was forbidden probably because it was considered exotic.⁷

From a passage in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* we learn that *Soma* juice was considered a proper drink for Brāhmanas, curds for Vaiśyas, water for Sūdras and a juice extracted from the roots of *Nyagrodha* and fruits of *Udumbara*, *Alvāttha* and *Plakṣa* for Kṣatriyas.⁸ This shows that the four castes had their own favourite drinks.

To sum up the food habits of the Aryans seem to have been affected considerably by their contact with the non-Aryans who

¹ तदाहुर्वर्षपूर्णाभासयोरुपवसति न ह वा अग्रतस्य देवा हविरुपवन्ति तस्मादुपवसत्पुन
अदेवा हविरुपवन्ति ।

Ait. Bra. VII. 11.

Also see Sat. Bra. II. 1. 4. 1.

² नि पर्वता अघसदी न क्षेदुः ।

Rv. VI. 30. 3.

³ तस्माज्जायाया अन्ते नाश्नीयादनीयवान् हास्ताज्जायते ।

Sat. Bra. X. 5. 2. 9.

⁴ तस्मादिदं मानुष्य स्त्रियस्तिर हवंपुंसो जिघत्सन्ति या इधनु सा इवेतिह स्माह
याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

Sat. Bra. I. 9. 2. 12.

⁵ Gopatha. Bra. I. 2. 1-8.

⁶ परिचुतं ॐ ह्येषां तृतीयं ब्रह्महत्यायै प्रत्यगुद्धन्तस निर्वर्त्तोऽभवत्तस्मा निर्वर्त्तस्य
नास्यम् ।

Tait. Sam. II. 5. 1. 3.

⁷ See Chapter II. (p. 12, f. n. 3.)

⁸ स यदि सोमं ब्राह्मणानां स भक्षी ब्राह्मणांस्तेन भक्षेण जिन्विष्यति ।

अथ यदि दधि वैश्यानां स भक्षी वैश्यांस्तेन भक्षेण जिन्विष्यति ।

अथ यद्यपः सूत्राणां स भक्षः सूत्रांस्तेन भक्षेण जिन्विष्यति ।

अथास्येव स्त्रो भक्षी त्वद्योषस्यावरोधावच कलानि चौदुम्बराण्याश्वत्थानि प्ला-
क्षान्पिशिपुण्यात्तानि भक्षयेत् सोऽस्य स्त्रो भक्षः ।

Ait. Bra. VII. 29.

were the makers of the Indus civilization. Probably wheat and rice became a part of their dietary only after this contact, as there is no mention of these cereals in the R̥gveda. Fish was also included in the articles of food by the time of the Yajurveda. The use of oil as a cooking medium seems to have been borrowed by the Aryans from the non-Aryans. *Soma* juice was widely used in the beginning but towards the end of the period, when it became difficult to obtain the plant, some substitutes were used.

APPENDIX A

[Page 27, f. a. 4]

1. *Ullābhala*—(a mortar) Rv. I. 28. 6., Av. X. 9. 26. XI. 3. 3., XII. 3. 13, Tait. Sam. V. 2. 8. 7. VII. 2. 1. 3., Sat. Bra. I. 1. 4. 6.
2. *Vanaṣpaṭi*—(a pestle) Tait. Sam. VI. 2.8.4., Av. IX. 3.11. Later it was called *Musala* Av. IX. 6. 13, X. 9. 26. etc., Tait. Sam. I. 6.8.3., Sat. Bra. XII. 1.2.7., Jaim. Bra. I. 42. 44.
3. *Tilau*—(a sieve)—Rv. X. 71. 2.
4. *Dhmātṛ*—(a blower) Rv. V. 9.5.
5. *Gharma*—(a pot for heating milk)—Rv. III. 3.3.14, V. 30.15. etc., Vaj. Sam. VIII. 61., Av. 73.6., Ait. Bra. I. 18.22.
6. *Parana*—(a vessel for cooking food)—Rv. I. 162. 6., Sat. Bra. VI. 3.4. 3., XIV. 1.2.21. etc.
7. *Ukṣā*—(a cooking pot)—It was generally made of clay. (Tait. Sam. IV. 1.34). Its hooks were called *Apika* (Rv. I. 162.13). Rv. I. 162. 13. etc., Tait. Sam. V. 1.63., Vaj. Sam. XI. 59., Av. XII. 3.23.
8. *Caru*—A cauldron which was heated on fire. (Rv. VII. 104.2). It had a cover (*apīdhāna* Rv. I. 162.2). Later it was made of iron or bronze (Sat. Bra. XIII. 3.4.5.), Rv. I. 7.6., VII. 104.2., Av. IV. 7.4., IX. 3.4., Kath. Sam. V. 6., Maits. Sam. I. 4.4.9., Tait. Sam. I. 6.12.1., Sat. Bra. IV. 7. 41., Ait. Bra. I. 1.
9. *Ladles*:
Jaba—Rv. I. 145.3., VIII. 43. 10., X. 21.3.
Upascenti—Rv. X. 21. 2., X. 205.10.
Sruva—Brh. Up. III. 9. 18., VI. 3. 13.
Sruv—Rv. V. 41. 12., Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 21., Av., V. 27.3., IX. 6. 17.
Darvī—(wooden ladle) Rv. X. 105. 10., V. 6. 9.
10. *Pieces of stone used for pressing Soma*.
Grāvan—Rv. X. 76. 94, 76. 175.
Adri—Rv. X. 175. 3., IX. 11.5.
11. *A piece of stone used for pounding rice*.
Dṛpād—Rv. VII. 104. 22., VIII. 72.4., Av. II. 31.1, Sat. Bra. I. 1.1. 22. etc.
12. *Strainers*:
Pavitrā—(a strainer made of sheep's wool)—Rv. IX. 6. 3., IX. 37. 1., IX. 109. 36., Av. IV. 124. 3., IX. 6. 16. etc.
Kāroṣara—Rv. I. 116. 7., Vaj. Sam. XIX. 16., Sat. Bra. XXII. 9. 1. 2., Kaus. Bra. II. 7.
13. *Vessels used for storing Soma juice*:
Amatra—Rv. II. 14. 1., V. 51.4., VI. 42. 2., X. 29. 7.
Aivatibā—(made of wood) Rv. I. 135. 8.
Abaya—Rv. I. 34. 8., VI. 7. 2., X. 101.5. etc.

Kata—Rv. III. 32. 11., IV. 17.6, etc.

Dru—Rv. I. 161. 1., V. 86. 3. etc.

Kalasa—Rv. I. 117. 12., IV. 27. 1. 22., XI. 39. etc.

Tait. Sam. I. 1. 8. 1., Vaj. Sam. I. 22., XI. 39. etc.

Camu—Rv. VIII. 2. 82., IX. 40.6., IX. 62. 16. etc.

Drapa—(a wooden tub) Rv. VI. 2. 8. IX. 28. 4. IX. 98. 27. etc.

14. *Drinking cups:*

Patra—Av. IV. 17. 4., VI. 142. 1., Tait. Sam. V. 1. 6. 2.

Camasa—Rv. I. 20. 6., X. 16. 8., Vaj. Sam. XXII. 13.

Av. VII. 73. 3., Sat. Brh. VII. 2. 11. 2. etc.

Graba—Rv. X. 114. 3.

Kāṇṇa—a cup made of metal. Av. X. 10. 5., Ait. Brh. VIII. 10. etc.

15. *Kumbha*—A pitcher generally made of clay.

Rv. I. 116. 7., VII. 33. 13., Av. IX. 5. 5. etc.

16. *Udāṇṇa*—A bucket for drawing water.

Rv. V. 44. 13., Ait. Brh. VII. 32., Sat. Brh. IV. 3. 5. 21.

17. *Dyṭi*—A leather bag for holding milk.

Rv. V. 83. 9., VIII. 7. 19. Tait. Sam. I. 8. 19. 1., Vaj. Sam. XXVI. 18.,

Av. VII. 18, Panc. Brh. V. 10.2.

18. *Sūla*—A spit used for roasting flesh.

Rv. I. 162. 11., Sat. Brh. XI. 4. 2. 4., Chand Up. VII. 15.3. etc.

19. *Sandhiti*—A knife to dissect the sacrificial animal.

Rv. I. 162. 13., I. 18. 20.

Sānd—A knife. Rv. I. 162. 13.

20. *Āsteana*—A vessel for holding liquids.

Rv. I. 162. 13., Sat. Brh. II. 1. 9. 5.

21. *Angāravakṣayana*—Tongs Brh. Up. III. 9. 18.

22. *Dhātātra*—A fan generally made of the skin of a deer with a handle made of bamboo or Udumbara wood. Tait. Ar. V. 9.2., Sat. Brh. IX. 3. 1. 20.

23. *Sūrpa*—A wicker work basket for winnowing.

Av. IX. 6. 16., X. 9. 26., Tait. Sam. I. 6. 8. 3. etc.

24. *Stbhā*—A cooking pot usually of clay. Av. VIII. 6. 17., Tait. Sam.

VI. 7. 10. 5., Vaj. Sam. XIX. 86, Ait. Brh. I. 11. 8.

25. *Piṇḍa*—A wooden dish. Sat. Brh. II. 3.3.6.

26. *Upamanthanī*—a churning stick. Brh. Up. VI. 3. 13.

27. *Sarāva*—A cup usually of clay. Tait. Brh. I. 3. 4. 5., Sat. Brh. V. 1.4.12.

28. *Nināḍya*—A water jar which was buried in the ground. Sat. Brh. III. 9. 28.

29. *Parīṣāra*—An instrument to lift the kettle off the fire. Sat. Brh. XIV. 1. 3. 1. etc.

CHAPTER III
FOOD AND DRINKS
(800 B.C. TO 300 B.C.)

In this chapter an attempt has been made to make a survey of the food habits of Indians during the period C. 800 B.C. to C. 300 B.C. But the chapter has been divided into two sections, one describing the picture as presented by the Sūtra literature and the other by early Buddhist and Jain works. It is necessary because the authors of Sūtra literature had different ideals in respect of food and occupied a different region from that of the Buddhists or the Jains. The Sūtras represent the Brahmanical point of view. In the Buddhist and Jain works we have a tradition which is non-Brahmanical if not exactly Kṣatriya as contended by Pargiter and some other writers.

SECTION I (THE SŪTRAS)

CEREALS AND PULSES

Of the food grains barley and rice continued to be the most important. The daily offerings to the gods consisted of barley from the barley harvest till the rice harvest and of rice from the rice harvest till the barley harvest.¹ An inferior variety of barley is also mentioned in addition to common barley.²

¹ पाणिग्रहणप्रभृति व्रीहिभिर्यवैर्वा हस्तेनैते यादृशी ब्रूहोति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 6. 21.

स्वयन्वेवाशस्यऽऽ बलिऽऽ हरेत् यवेभ्योऽध्याद्रीहिभ्यः व्रीहिभ्योऽध्यायवेभ्यः, स त्वाशस्यो नाम बलिर्भवति ।

Gobhila Gr. Su. I. 4. 28.

व्रीहिप्रभृत्यायवेभ्यो यवेभ्यो वाऽद्रीहिभ्यः स्वयं हरेत् स्वयं हरेत् ।

Khadira Gr. Su. I. 5. 40.

² Yava—Pāṇini V. 1.7., V. 2. 3., Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7. 16. 22. Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3, Manava Gr. Su. I. 11.2, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.6, Khadira Gr. Su. I. 5. 39.

Yavānī (inferior variety of barley) Pāṇini IV. 1. 49.

The old preparations of barley were in common use :—

Dhānāḥ (Parched barley grains) Asv. Sr. Su. U. VI. 8, Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.6., 1.7; Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 3.6, Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37.

Some new preparations are mentioned by Pāṇini. Barley gruel (*Yavāgṛa*) was a favourite food of the people residing in the Alwar-Bikaner region.¹ It had two varieties one of which was licked and the other was drunk.² *Yāvaka* was prepared by pounding barley with pestle and mortar to remove the chaff and then boiling the pearl grain in water or milk.³ Wheat had not yet become very popular as it is not mentioned in the Sūtras.

Besides barley, rice seems to be common. A fine variety of rice, *śālī*⁴ is distinguished from the ordinary variety *Vrihi*.⁵ These two varieties had many subkinds.⁶ Pāṇini mentions two fine varieties one of which ripened in sixty days and the other was grown on the banks of the river Devikā.⁷ Boiled rice was taken with curds, honey, meat and milk. It was also cooked with pulses.⁸ Parched rice, *Apāpa*, *Pr̥bhuka*, *Kṛsaya* and *Puro-*

Karambha (Parched barley flour with clarified butter or curds) Asv. Sr. Su. U. VI. 8, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 3. 6., Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 19. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37.

Sakā (Parched barley meal) Pāṇini VI. 3. 39, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 19, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7. 22, Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37.

¹ Pāṇini IV. 2.136, Asv. Sr. Su. II. 3, Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.20.

Śāleśa—Alwar-Bikaner Region (Pāṇini (H), p. 121).

² *Uṣṇikā* (Pāṇini V. 2.7.) was a *pēya* variety while *Nakhamparā* was the one which was licked, because it scorched the fingers' ends. (Pāṇini III. 2.34).

³ Pāṇini IV. 3.25.

⁴ Pāṇini V. 2.1. *Śālī* was grown in winter while *Vrihi* was grown in autumn. See Chapter V (7).

Rice was probably the staple food grain in the south as it was exported to Babylon in the 6th century B.C. The Greek word for rice *Oryza* is from the Tamil word *Ariṇi*. T. R. Sesha Iyengar—The Ancient Dravidians, p. 136

⁵ Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5. 39, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.6, Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.22, Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3., Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 6.21, Manuv. Gr. Su. I. 17.2.

It is not white when husked according to the Bhāvaṣṭrakāśa.

⁶ *Kṛṣṇavrihi* was black rice (Katya. Sr. Su. XV. 3.14.)

Mahāvrihi was a fine variety (Pāṇini VI. 2.38).

Hāyana (red rice) (Pāṇini III. 1.48).

Yāvaka—A variety of rice (Pāṇini V. 4.3.)

⁷ *Śaṣṭika*—Pāṇini V. 1.90.

वष्टिकाः वष्टिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते ।

देविकाशिशपादित्यवाङ्दीर्घस्य श्रेयसामात् ।

दाविकाकूलाः शालवः ।

Pāṇini VII. 3. 1.

⁸ *Odana*—Asv. Sr. Su. II. 3, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 3.1, Pāṇini IV. 4.67.

Bhakta (boiled rice)—Pāṇini IV. 4. 10.

Payodana—सपित्तम पयोदनं दत्त्वा ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.2.

ḍāta were very popular.¹ Probably cakes made of powdered rice were called *Piṣṭakās*.² Some inferior cereals such as wild

Rice taken with curds, honey or clarified butter

अथोदनं दध्ना मधुना वृतेनाद्भिरिति तमुदायुत्य हिरण्येनोषधस्य कुमारं प्राकथयति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 3.5.

वृतीदनं तेजस्कामः ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 14. 4.

Kṣīraṇḍana (with milk) and *Sīṃpāṇḍana* (with pulses)

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.54.

Māṃśaṇḍana (rice cooked with meat) Pāṇini IV. 4.67.

¹ *Lāṣṭh* (fried rice grains) were used at the time of marriage in the Sūtra period.

Manav. Gr. Su. I. 11.11, Gobh. Gr. Su. VII. 3.6, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 4.36, I. 16.34.

अथास्या अञ्जलावुपस्तीर्य तस्यास्तोदयो द्विर्जालावपति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 4.23.

सकृद् वृहीतमञ्जलिं जालानां यध्यञ्जलावपेत् आता ।

Khadir Gr. Su. I. 3.19.

धानाः करम्भाः परिवापः पुरोडासाः पयस्येति तेषां यद्यत्कामसीरस्तत्तदुपिगुल्फयेत् . . .

अन्यान्वा पथ्यान् भक्षानामूलफलेभ्यः । एतेन वर्तयेत् पशुना च ।

Asv. Sr. Su. II. 6.8.

Parched rice flour (*Mantha*) was taken with curds, honey and water (Pāṇini VI. 3.60).

हवींष्यासादयेवोदनं कृसरं पायसं दधिमन्धान् मधुमन्धाश्च ।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.3.

Apāṣṭa—Pāṇini also mentions *Apāṣṭa* in which wheat flour fried in clarified butter and mixed with sugar was used as stuffing (*Chāṣṭiṣṭh apāṣṭh*). Pāṇini IV. 4.23, Kh. Gr. Su. III. 29.

ओदनं कृसरं पायसं । चतुःशरावस्य वायुपान । उदीरलामवर उत्पराश्च इत्यष्टाभिर्हृत्वा ।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 4.4.

अपूपधानाकरम्भसक्तुवटकलैलपायसशकानि शुक्तानि वर्जयेत् ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 29.

Prithuka

लोकान् अपूपपृथुकायुपहाराश्च दत्त्वा नमस्कृत्य ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 16.34.

फाणितपृथुकतण्डुलकरम्भभरुजसक्तुशकानांसपिष्टक्षीरविकारीर्वाधिवनस्पतिमूलफलवर्जम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.19.

Kṣāra—(Preparation of rice and sesamum)

It was given to a barbez. Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 4.4.

तिलतण्डुलसम्पन्नः कृसरः

Commentator on Kh. Gr. Su. II. 2.27.

कृशरो नापिताय ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.7.

Parādāśa—Asv. Sr. Su. II. 6.8.

अतुङ्गमनपूपाकृतिं कूर्मस्येव प्रतिकृतिमवशकमात्रं करोति ।

Ap. Sr. Su. I. 23.4.

² Pāṇini IV. 3. 147.

rice (*Nivara*, *Priyangu* and *Syāmāka*) were eaten by foresters.¹ Of the pulses besides *Māya*, *Mūṅga* and *Kulāttha* (horsegram) had come into use.² Of the pulse preparations the most common was a soup (*Sūpa*). Small round cakes (*Vataka*) were also prepared.³ *Kulmāsa* continued to be eaten by poor people and ascetics.⁴

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Besides food grains cow's milk and its products were in common use.⁵ Cows as now, were milked in the morning and

¹ *Priyangu*—(panic seeds) Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 3.

Nivāra—Pāṇini III. 3.48.

Syāmāka—Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.22, Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

² *Māya*—Pāṇini V. 1.7, V. 2.4, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 6.6.

In a Śrāddha—

तत्र द्रव्याणि तिलमाषाद्रीह्यवा आपो मूलफलानि ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.25.

In the ceremony of tonsure

उत्तरतोऽग्ने त्रीह्यवमाषतिलानां दूधकपूर्वशरावाणि निदधाति

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3.

यवा माहिकवस्तद्वुलाप्यामाकागुदन मेव च चनकाश्चिलमाषाश्च कुलुत्थाश्च कर्मात् शिषेत् ।

Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

Mūṅga—Pāṇini IV. 4.25, Pan. Gr. Su. I. 15.4, Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

Canaka—Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

Kulāttha—It was avoided by a man observing a vow (Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18.2.)

Adhaka—Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

³ *Sūpa*—Pāṇini VI. 2.148.

Vataka—(small round balls prepared with pulses).

अग्रूप घाना करम्भ सकतु वटक तैल पायस घाकानि शुक्लानि वर्जयेत् ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 29.

⁴ *Kulmāsa*—(Ghughri in Hindi) (some inferior grain boiled with a little water, guda and oil) Pāṇini V. 2. 83.

⁵ *Gavya* or *Payasya*—(Pāṇini IV. 3.160).

Payas (Milk)—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.20, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.7.

Dadhi (curds)—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.20, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.7., Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 1.13.

Navamīsa—(Butter) Ap. Gr. Su. I. 15.9.

उत्प्लूतेन नवनीतेनान्प्लूतेन वा सपिवा स्थालीपाकमभिधापे एकस्फटायामेक्षणमाशय स्थालीपाकमासादयति ।

Ap. Sr. Su. I. 3.7.8.

Haiyāṅgavāna (butter churned from the curds of previous day's milk) —Pan. V. 2.23.

Sarpi—(Clarified butter) Indians seem to be fond of preparations mixed with clarified butter.

in the evening.¹ Milk of a pregnant cow, a cow in heat, and one which suckled the calf of another cow was forbidden. Beastings were as before not taken for the first ten days.² Besides, milk-rice which continued to be popular, a favourite preparation of curds was *payayā*. Some fragrant spices and crystal sugar were used in its preparation.³ Preparations mixed with ghee seem to have been greatly relished.⁴

MEAT DIET

The writers of the Sūtras consider it meritorious to kill an ox or a goat to feed a distinguished guest.⁵ Flesh of various

नैयमिकं तु धाढं स्नेहवदेव दद्यात् । १७।

सपिमांसमिति प्रथमः कल्पः । १८।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.17.18.

स्नेहवति स्वेवावशे पितृणां तीव्रतया प्रीतिर्वापीयांसं च कालम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.24.

Gobh. Gr. Su. 1.7.20, Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 1.13, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.7, II. 1.7, 1.18.

¹ सायं दीहमाहुत्य प्रातर्दीहं च भवति ।

Kātya. Śr. Su. IV. 2.38.

² लवेलकं पयः । उष्ट्रीक्षीरमृगीक्षीरसन्निवनीक्षीरयमसूक्षीराणीति । घेनोपचानिर्द-
शायाः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 3. 17. 22-24.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 3.12, 9-12, Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 24. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 34-35.

³ *Payaya* (milk rice)—Kh. Gr. Su. III. 1.38, IV. 2.18, Manav. Gr. Su. I. 9.22.

Prasadiya means a mixture of curds and clarified butter in this period.

दधन्यत्र सपिरानयन्त्येतत् पित्र्यं पूषदाज्यम्

Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 1.13.

Payayā—Asv. Śr. Su. VI. 8. See F.D.A.I., p. 16.

⁴ See p. 37, f. n. 3.

⁵ Pāṇini also refers to meat in IV. 4.35 and IV. 4.67. He calls a guest *goghna* i.e. a person for whom a cow was killed (III. 4.73). Roasted meat was eaten (*Sāhya* IV. 2. 17).

नामांसो मधुपर्को भवति भवति ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 21.28.

नस्वेवामांसोऽर्घ्यं स्यात् । अश्वतो पिष्टाञ्च ससिद्धयेत् ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2. 53-54.

अथापि ब्राह्मणाय वा राजन्याय वाभ्यांगताय वा महोक्षं वा मह्राजं वा पचेदेवमस्याति-
थ्यं कुर्वन्तीति ।

Vas. Dh. Su. IV.

Cf. Sankh. Gr.Su. II. 15.2, Ap.Dh.Su. II. 3.74, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.53.

birds is prescribed even for a child at the time of its first feeding.¹ Meat preparations were common in a *Śrāddha*, but if one could not afford meat one was allowed to use vegetables.² Many animals continued to be killed at sacrifices and their meat was partaken by the sacrificers.³ The archaeological evidence also shows that humped bull, buffalo, and sheep were slaughtered for food.⁴

The notion of clean and unclean meat was well developed in the Sūtras. It is laid down that one should not take meat which has been cut with a sword.⁵ Eating flesh of a dog, a man, a village cock, a boar and a carnivorous animal is consi-

¹ भारद्वाज्यामात्रेण वाचस्तारकामस्य । कपिलमात्रेण शकामस्य । मत्स्यैर्जवन-
कामस्य । कृकपाया आयुष्कामस्य । आदया ब्रह्मवर्चसकामस्य । सर्वैः सर्वकामस्य । अथ
पर्याय वा ततो ब्राह्मणभोजनमन्नपर्याय वा ततो ब्राह्मण भोजनम् ।

Paraskara Gr. Su. I. 19.7-13.

भ्राजमन्नाश्चकामः । तैत्तिरि ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः । वृत्तीदनं तेजस्कामः । दधिभक्षुघृत-
मित्रमन्नं प्राशयेत् अन्नपतेऽस्य रोदेहि अन्नमीवस्य शुष्मिणः द्विपदे चतुष्पदे इति ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 14-2-6

² सर्पिर्मांसमिति प्रथमः कल्पः । अभावे तलंशाकमिति ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19. 18-19.

हवत्सरं गम्येन प्रीतिः । भूधांसमतो नाहिर्घेण ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7-16 26-27.

खड्गोपस्तारणेखड्गं कसिनानन्त्यं कालम् । १ । तथा सतवलेर्मत्स्यस्य मासेद । वाध्रा-
णसत्स्य च ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.17 1-3.

खड्गमृगमहिषमेघवराहपुलकशरोहितं शार्ङ्गलितिरिकमोतकपिञ्जलसवाध्राणसानामाश्रयं
तिलमधुसंशुष्टम् । तथा मत्स्यस्य सतवलेः क्षीरोपनेन सूपोदनेन च ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.13-14

नियुक्तस्तु यदा श्राद्धे दैवे वा मांसमुत्सृजेत् ।

वाञ्छन्ति पशूरोमाणि तावन्नरकमुच्छति ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 31.

³ पृथङ् मांसं चोदनं चापूपांश्च अपयत्पत्यांश्च भक्ष्यविशेषान् ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.15.

वहिर्वादाय गामुपाकरोति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 7-4.

अथ यदि गो न लभते मेघगजं वाऽलभते ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 7.16.

Cf. Kh. Gr. Su. III. 4, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 10.16, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.31, Hiran. Gr. Su. II. 15.1, Vaikhanssa. IV. 3, Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 9.10, Sankh. Sr. Su. IV. 17.1, V. 15.1.

⁴ Excavations at Hastinapur (1930-32) Ancient India No. 10 and 11. (1934 and 1955) by Sri B. B. Lal, pp. 115-117.

⁵ हिताचैनातिना मौसं छिन्नम्भोज्यम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 3.16.16.

dered a sin.¹ The meat of one hoofed animals, of camels, of *gayāla*, of village pigs, locusts, of cattle, of animals having a double row of teeth or excessive hair or of those which have no hair and eating of fish was forbidden.²

But in times of distress even unclean meat was permitted if only to save life. The general feeling of the time about meat eating seems to be that it should be used in extending hospitality to guests, as offering to gods and manes but animals should not be killed otherwise.³ No doubt on these occasions the householders partook of the meat preparations, and of these occasions there were many.

SWEETS

Honey was extensively used in many ceremonies in the Sūtra period,⁴ and was invariably used in welcoming guests, the common preparation used for the purpose being a mixture of honey with curds or ghee (*Madhuparka*).⁵ Its use was not

¹ प्रतिविद्वानां मीसभक्षणम् । शुनो मनुष्यस्य च कुक्कुटसूकराणां ग्राम्याणां कन्यावसाम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7. 21. 14-15.

यवकुक्कुटग्राम्यसूकरकङ्कुग्धभासपारावतनानुषकाकोलकवासादने सत्पराश्वमुपवासः ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XXIII. 25.

² एकक्षुरोद्गवयग्रामसूकरशरभगवाम् । घेन्वनडुहोर्मध्यम् । मेध्वमानवुहमिति वाज-
सनेयकम् । कुक्कुटो विकिराणाम् । प्लवः प्रतुदाम् । कन्यावः । हंसमासत्तकवाकमुपणाश्च । कुञ्च-
कोञ्चवाध्राणसलक्ष्मणवर्जम् । पञ्चनखानां गोधाकच्छपस्वविच्छल्यकलङ्कशशूलिखववर्जम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 3. 17. 29-37.

श्वाविच्छल्यकशशकच्छपगोधाः पञ्चनखानां भक्ष्याः । अनृष्टा पशूनामन्वतो
दन्ताश्च मत्स्यानां वा वेदगवय शिषुमारुतक कुसीराविकृतस्थाः । सर्पशीर्षाश्च । गौरगव-
यारमाश्चानुदिष्टाः । तथा घेन्वनडुहो मेध्वो वाजसनेयके विज्ञायते । खट्वे सु विवदन्त्यग्राम्य-
सूकरे च । सकुनानां च विपुविक्किरजालपादाः । कलविङ्कलवहंसचकवाकभास-
बायस पारावतकुक्कुटसारङ्गपाण्डुकपीतकोञ्चककरकङ्कुग्धश्वेनबकबलाकमद्गु, टिट्ठिभमान्धाल
नक्तचरशर्वाधाटचटकरैसातहारीतलज्जरीट ग्राम्यकुक्कुटसूकरिकाकोकिलकन्यादा ग्राम-
वारिणश्वाग्रामवारिणश्चेति ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 30-37.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 3. 12. 3., Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 16-31.

³ यधुपर्के च यज्ञे च पितृदैवतकर्मणि ।

अथैव पशवो हिस्वाग्रान्वपेत्यब्रवीन्मनुः ।

Vas. Dh. Su. IV. 6.

Cf. Vṛṣṇ Dh. Su. IV. 6, Śākh. Gr. Su. II. 16. 1.

⁴ Ap. Dh. Su. I. 4. 6., Manav. Gr. Su. I. 7. 12., Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 3. 23-24,
Parask. Gr. Su. II. 3. 12, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 117. 19-23.

⁵ दधनि मध्वानीय सर्पिर्वा भक्ष्यताभे ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 21. 5.

allowed to the students even in this period.¹

Besides honey another source of sweet ingredients was sugarcane.² *Guda*, inspissated juice of sugarcane boiled to thick consistency (*Phāṇita*) and probably sugar were prepared from it.³ Of new sweet preparations *Pālala* was prepared with sesamum and *guda* or sugar and *Samyāva* with wheat flour fried in clarified butter, and mixed with milk and *guda*. Sometimes cardamom, pepper and ginger were added to make it more tasteful⁴. Ears of barley or wheat were parched and beaten with a pestle and after being cleaned were mixed with *guda* to make *abhyāsa*.⁵ Sweets called *Svastika*, *Modaka* and *Nandyāvarta* are also mentioned.⁶

SALTS AND SPICES

For the purposes of seasoning food in addition to salt⁷ some other spices such as long pepper, black pepper and asafoetida were used.⁸ Saline preparations were not allowed to students,

¹ न मद्युन्मासं से प्राप्नोति वात् ।

Manava. Gr. Su. I. 1.12.

अमद्युन्मासो स्यात् ।

Kh. Gr. Su. II. 5.11.

Cf. Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 3.23-24, Paras. Gr. Su. II. 5.12, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 117. 19-23.

² Sugarcane plantations (*Ikṣavāna*) are mentioned. Pāṇini VIII. 4.3.

³ *Guda*—Pāṇ. IV. 4.103, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 10.11.

Phāṇita—(Inspissated juice of sugarcane boiled to thick consistency)

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 3.17.19.

⁴ The old preparations in common use were :

Apāpa—See p. 36, f. n. 1 above

Kṛsara—See p. 36, f. n. 1 above

Payasa—See p. 36, f. n. 1 above

Pālala—Pāṇ. VI. 2.135.

Samyāva—Cūrṇa in Hindi (Pāṇ. III. 3.25.)

⁵ *Abhyāsa*—is mentioned in the *Apāpādārvarga* in Pāṇini.

⁶ Manav. Gr. Su. II. 6.4.

⁷ अक्षार लवणं भुञ्जन्ता ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 49.

⁸ *Pippali*—(long pepper) Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.12.

It was exported from South India from the earliest times.

The Greek word peperis is taken from the Dravidian word *pippali*.

Marica—(black pepper) Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.12.

Hingra—(asafoetida) Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 32-33.

The common words for seasoning were *Upasacana* and *Vyāñjana*.

व्यञ्जनैरुपसिक्ते ।

Pāṇ. IV. 4. 26.

सकं व्यञ्जनमन्वाहार्यम् ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. IV. 4.20.

widows and to a newly married couple for three nights.¹

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Sesamum was the most important oil seed² used in Śrāddha and other ceremonies.³ Its oil was regarded as a substitute for clarified butter.⁴ Āpastamba lays down that a person should avoid oil cakes when observing a vow.⁵ We find mustard mentioned; perhaps its oil may also have been used.⁶

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

The Sūtras do not mention the names of many fruits but fruits formed an essential part of the diet of the Aryans.⁷ Besides the three varieties of jujube,⁸ *udumbara* fruit (Indian fig) and *Saphaka* (*trapabispinosa*) were the common edible fruits⁹ but Pāṇini also mentions rose apple (*Jambū*)¹⁰ and mango.¹¹

¹ *Students—*

न मधुमति प्राश्नीयात् क्षारलवणे च ।

Manava. Gr. Su. I. 1.12.

Widows—

क्षार लवणं भुञ्जाना ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 49.

Newly married couple—

त्रितयं क्षारलवणेदुग्धमिति वर्जयानी सह सद्यीयातां ब्रह्मचारिणी ।

Kh. Gr. Su. I. 4.9.

तस्य हविर्भक्षयित्वा ययासुलमत ऊर्ध्वं मधुमति प्राश्नीयात् क्षारलवणे च ।

Manava. Gr. Su. I. 2.21.

² Panini V. 1.7, V. 2.4.

³ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7. 16.22, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.6, I. 7.20, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.21, Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3, Baudh. Gr. Sesa Su. I. 16-17, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.64.

उत्तरतोऽग्नेर्बहिर्व्रमापतिलानांपृथक् पूर्णशरावाणि निदधाति ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3.

तिसाश्चाद्वे पवित्रं यदि दानाय यदि भोजनाय, यद्यपां संसर्जनाय ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.64.

⁴ सपिर्मांसमिति प्रथमः कल्पः । अभावे तैलशक्यमिति ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19. 18-19.

⁵ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18.1.

⁶ Sankh. Sr. Su. IV. 15.8, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.17.

⁷ अन्दाग्रा पथ्यान् भक्षानामूलफलेभ्यः ।

Asv. Sr. Su. U. VI. 8.8.

⁸ कुवत्कर्कण्डुबदरवृणानि चावपति ।

Kātyāyana Śr. Su. XV. 10.11

⁹ *Udumbara*—Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 22.8.

Saphaka—Ap. Sr. Su. IX. 14.14.

¹⁰ *Jambū*—(rose apple) Panini IV. 3. 165.

¹¹ *Āmra*—(mango). Pan. VIII. 4.5, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.20.3.

Unripe fruits were called *śatan* (Asv. Gr. Su. I. 12. 4.)

Leafy vegetables¹ were eaten and some of them were cooked. Some roots such as radish and ginger, which aid digestion were munched after meals.² Garlic, onions and leeks were avoided by respectable people.³

INTOXICATING DRINKS

Drinking was common in the days of Pāṇini as he mentions words meaning a vintner, a distillery and liquor.⁴ The ingredients were first formed into a ferment. When the fermentation was complete the ingredients were called *Āsavya*.⁵ The sediment which was left after distillation was called *Viniya*.⁶ From the Sūtras we learn that strong liquor was served to the guests when a person entered a new house,⁷ it was served to women when a bride arrived at the bridegroom's place⁸ and it was served to the wives of forefathers in the Ānvaṣṭakya rite.⁹ Women who performed a dance at the time of marriage were also served *Surā*.¹⁰

But the evil effects of drinking were not unknown to the authors of the Dharmasūtras.¹¹ They regard drinking as a heinous crime, and forbid the use of liquors particularly for Brāhmaṇas and students.¹²

¹ *Śāka*—(uncooked leafy vegetables)—Ap. Dh. Su. I. 3.17-19.

Bhājī—(cooked vegetables) Pāṇini IV. 1.42.

Śrāṇa (cooked vegetables) Pan. IV. 4. 67.

² *Upadāhita*—(Digestive roots) Pāṇini III. 4.47.

³ करञ्जपलङ्गुपरारिकाः।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 3. 17. 26.

⁴ *Saundika*—(Vintner) Pāṇini IV. 3.76.

Āsūt—(distillery) Pāṇini V. 2.112.

A Sūtra refers to people who could even take the sediment of liquor.
कणे हृद्यमिदं।

Pāṇini. I. 4.66.

Maṇḍya—Pāṇini III. 1. 100.

Surā—Pāṇini II. 4.25.

⁵ Pāṇini III. 1.126.

⁶ Pāṇini III. 1.117.

⁷ Paras. Gr. Su. III. 4.9.

⁸ Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 11.5.

⁹ स्त्रीग्यञ्च । सुरामात्राममित्यधिकम् ।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 3.6-7.

Cf. Parask. Gr. Su. III. 3.11.

¹⁰ Asv. Gr. Su. II. 3.5. Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 11. 5.

¹¹ सर्वं मद्यमपेयम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 3.17.21.

Cf. Vas. Dh. Su. I. 20.

¹² मद्यं नित्यं ब्राह्मणः ।

Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 23.

Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.21.8.

Besides *Surā*¹ which was generally prepared with barley or rice flour there were some other intoxicating drinks. *Kilāla* was a sweet drink prepared from cereals.² In the preparation of *Māsara* a mixture of a mess of rice or *Syāmāka* with some spices was allowed to ferment for three days. This mixture was purified with the help of a filter and then used as a beverage.³ A spiced liquor *Maireya* prepared with *Guḍa* or sugar had also come into use.⁴ Wine imported from *Kāpiśi* (north of Kabul) was known as *Kāpiśāyani*.⁵ Pāṇini refers to two other varieties of wines *Kālikā* and *Avadātikā*.⁶

Soma juice continued to be used in *Srauta* ritual but is not mentioned in the domestic rites.⁷ This probably means that it was no longer a common drink. The scarcity of the plant may have been one of the reasons as *Adāra* a substitute is mentioned in the *Āp. Śr. Su. XIV. 24. 12-13*. *Parisruta* was another beverage.⁸ Some decoctions (*Kaṣāya*) of rice meal and flowers were also used as intoxicating beverages.⁹

It appears from the *Gautama Dharma Sūtra* that the *Brāhmaṇas* were prohibited from drinking any kind of intoxicating drinks.¹⁰ The *Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* could, however, take liquors prepared from honey, *madhūka* flowers and *Guḍa* but not spirituous liquors distilled from flour.¹¹

¹ *Āp. Dh. Su. I. 7.21.8, I. 5.17.21, Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 25, Vas. Dh. Su. I. 20.*

² तथा कीलालोपधीनां च ।

Āp. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.21.

³ ब्रीहिश्यामाकौदनानामयोः शष्पतोक्मलाज नमहुचूर्णः संसर्गो मासरम् ।

Mahādhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 14.

दक्षिणेन हृत्वा नमहु चूर्णानि कृत्वा तावच्च ब्रीहि श्यामाकौदनयोः पृथगाचामौ निविच्य चूर्णं संसृज्य निदधाति तन्मासरम्

ओदनौ चूर्णः मासरेः स ॐ तुज्य स्वादीं त्वाच्छाना त इति त्रिरात्रं निदधाति ।

Kātya. Śr. Su. XIX. 1. 20-21.

⁴ मज्झानि मेरेये ।

Pāṇini VI. 2.70.

Cf. Manav. Gr. Su. II. 14. 28.

⁵ कापिष्याः पक्क ।

Pāṇini IV. 2. 99.

⁶ *Pāṇini V. 4.3.*

⁷ *Kātya Śr. Su. XIV. 1. 14.*

⁸ *Ibid*

and XV 10.9. See *F.D.A.I.*, p. 30. f. no. (159).

⁹ *Pāṇini VI. 2.10.*

¹⁰ *Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 25.*

Cf. Kath. Sam. XII. 12.

¹¹ *History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II. Part II, p. 795—Kane.*

DRINKING WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Āpastamba lays down that it is the duty of the householder and his wife to see that the water vessels in the house are never empty.¹ This shows the importance which was attached to drinking water in this period. It was purified in a filter before use.² Waters from rivers and reservoirs having sweet smell, colour and taste were probably considered good for drinking.

THE ART OF COOKING

The art of cooking³ was well developed. This is clear from the fact that the various stages in the preparation of *Stbālī-pāka* (boiled rice fit for offering) are described in detail. Rice grains were washed by sprinkling water over them, husking them.⁴ They were then cooked with clarified butter. The preparation of *Puroḍāśa*, *Apūpa*, stuffed *Apūpas*, *Kṛsara* and *Samīyāva* shows great skill in culinary art. An idea of the size of *Puroḍāśa* can be had from the fact that it is stated that four cups of ground grains were required to make one cake.⁵ Cooks were sometimes called according to the quantity of food stuff they handled.⁶ A distinction has also been made between solid (*Bhaksya*) and liquid food.⁷ Meat, pulse soup and vegetables are regarded as solid foods. Some food stuffs such as *guda*, clarified butter and sesame

¹ Āp. Dh. Su. II. 1.1.15.

² उत्तरस्यां पदो वीतसेऽजाऽविलोमपवित्रेण ब्रह्मक्षत्रमिति

Kāty. Śr. Su. XIX. 2.12.

³ *Pakti*—Pāṇini III. 3.95.

⁴ अस्तमिते स्थालीपाकं श्रपयित्वैककपालं.....अवप्नुतः स्यात्।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.4-5.

Cf. Asv. Gr. Su. II. 319.

⁵ अतुङ्गमनूपाकृतिं कूर्मस्येव प्रतिकृतिमश्वशफमात्रं करोति।

Ap. Sr. Su. I. 25.4.

⁶ घाढकाचितवाप्रात्सोऽन्यतरस्याम्।

Pāṇial. V. 1.53.

कुलिजाल्लुनक्षी च।

Pāṇini V. 1.55.

⁷ भोज्यं भक्ष्ये।

Pāṇini VII. 3.69.

भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम्।

Pāṇini II. 1.35.

संस्कृतं भक्षाः।

Pāṇini IV. 2.16.

Also see India in Pāṇini (H), pp. 115-116.

were mixed for different dishes.¹ Fried wheat flour was used as a stuffing and salt and curds were mixed with food preparations.²

Some of the common cooking implements were a cooking pot (*stbāli*), a ladle (*Srwa*), and a spoon (*Darvī*).³ Cups (*Sarāva*) were used for measuring food stuffs and a grind-stone and a mortar were regarded as very important.⁴ Vessels of copper, iron and stone were in common use besides earthenware. Sometimes gold vessels and those made of wood were also used.⁵ A piece of broken jar (*kapāla*) was used for baking cakes.⁶ The omentum of a victim was grilled in a vessel (*Vapāśrapaṇi*) and meat was roasted on spits (*Hṛdayasūla*). An earthen utensil was used only once. If it had to be used again it was fired afresh. Metallic utensils were cleaned with ashes and wooden ones by scraping.⁷

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

In the Sūtras hospitality becomes one of the five daily duties of a householder.⁸ It is considered improper for an Ārya

¹ फलसूपसाकमिधे ।

Pāṇini VI. 2.128.

² चूर्णादिनिः ।

Pāṇini IV. 4.23.

लवणालुक् ।

Pāṇini IV. 4.24.

मृद्गादण् ।

Pāṇini IV. 4.25.

³ *Stbāli*—Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.5.

Srwa—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 5.19.

Camasa—Manav. Gr. Su. I. 9.6.

Darvī—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 5.19.

Ukhlā—(fryingpan) Panini IV. 2.17.

Sārpa—(winnowing basket) Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.9.

⁴ *Sarāva*—Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3.

Ulkakala (mortar)—Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.8.

⁵ Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.1, IV. 3.19, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17, 9-12 Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.7, Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 24.3.

काऽं हे भवते वा दक्षिणधुत्तानीय वर्षयिषा पित्रायाचमनीय प्रथमः प्रतिपद्यन्ते ।

Manav. Gr. Su. I. 9.6.

⁶ Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.7., Kh. Gr. Su. III. 3.30, Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.5.

⁷ भनाप्रीते मृन्मये भोनतव्यम् । आप्रीतं चेदभिदग्धे । परिमृष्टं लोहं प्रयतम् । निलि-
सितम् दारुमयम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17, 9-12.

⁸ The five daily duties of a householder were prayer to God (*Brabma-yajña*), offerings to gods (*Devayajña*), offerings to the spirits of the deceased

to take his meals without offering food to gods, Brāhmaṇas and guests.¹ A preceptor, a sacrificial priest, the father-in-law and a king were considered specially deserving of hospitality² but even a Sūdra guest was to be provided with food. Besides gods, Brāhmaṇas and guests a householder was expected to set apart some food for small creatures.³ New corn was not eaten without making offerings in fire.⁴

Besides hospitality much emphasis was laid on purity of food. Both in the morning and in the evening every respectable person (*Arya*) was expected to take his meals after cleaning his hands, feet and mouth.⁵ The *Sūdras* were expected to shave their hair and beard, pare their nails and bathe before being permitted to cook food for the higher castes.⁶ Grain was well

(*Pitryajña*), hospitality to the guests (*Atithiyajña*) and offerings to animals and birds (*Bhūtiyajña*).

Asv. Gr. Su. II, III. 1-3. 1-2, Paras. Gr. Su. VI. 1.4.1.

सर्वस्य त्वन्नस्याग्नौ कृत्वाग्रं ब्राह्मणाय वत्सा स्वयं कुर्यात्।

Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5.39.

¹ न रसान् गृहे भुञ्जीतानावशेषमतिथिभ्यः। नात्मार्यमभिरूपमन्नं पाषण्डेत्।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.8. 3-5.

C.f. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 19, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 3.5.18.

² आचार्यायस्त्रिंशे श्वसुराय राजा इति परिसंवत्सरादुपतिष्ठद्भ्यो गोमंशुपर्कद्वयं। दधि-
मधुसंसृष्टं मधुपर्कः। पयो वा मधुसंसृष्टम्। अभाव उक्तम्।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.8. 7-9.

तथैते अर्ध्या अद्वितिकश्चतुरापितृभ्यो मातुलः आचार्यो राजा वा स्नातकः प्रियो वरो-
तिथिरिति।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.65.

³ गृहमेधिनोर्मदशनीयस्य होमा बलपश्च स्वर्गपुष्टिसंयुक्ताः।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.5.12.

अथगृहपायसंभृतमिश्रमन्नं निवेदयति।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 10.11.

C.f. Kh. Gr. Su. I.5. 22-25.

⁴ सस्यं नाश्नीयादग्निहोत्रमहुत्वा।

Asv. Sr. Su. II. 9.

⁵ पाणिपादं प्रक्षाल्य वाग्वतो दक्षिणामुखो भुञ्जीत।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.1.

नानुसृश्य भोजनं प्रातः। सायमुपसृश्य भोजनमासमिदाघातात्।

Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 2. 8-9.

भोक्ष्यमाणस्तु प्रयतोऽपि द्विराचमेद् द्विः परिमृजेत् सकृदुपस्पृशेत्।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.9.

⁶ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 23. 1-6.

washed before being cooked.¹ Food articles which had stood overnight, which had turned sour or which were cooked twice were regarded as unfit for food², probably because they were considered unhygienic. But articles, which did not get spoilt such as roasted rice grains, porridge prepared with curds, roasted barley, groats, vegetables, meat, flour, milk preparations, roots, fruits and herbs could be eaten even the next day.³ To maintain purity of food it was laid down that one should not eat flavoured or prepared food bought from the market, but raw meat, honey, salt, oil or clarified butter could be bought from the market. It is also laid down that one should use unclean oil and ghee after purifying them with the addition of water.⁴ One is also advised not to eat that food in which there is a hair or any other unclean substance, which has been touched by an unclean substance, in which one finds an insect living on impure substance, excrement or limbs of a mouse. Food touched by foot, the hem of a garment, a dog or those persons who are not allowed to eat from one's utensils, brought in the hem of a garment or brought by a maid servant or brought at night was also to be avoided.⁵ Even food brought through a back door is

¹ निःकृतां कृतांस्तद्भुतांश्चिद्वैवेभ्यः प्रक्षालयेदित्याहुर्दिमं तु ध्येभ्यः सङ्कृत् पितृभ्य इति ।
Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.5.

C.f. Kh. Gr. Su. II. 10-12.

² कृताञ्च पर्यपितमलाद्यमपेयानाम् । शुक्तं च, शुक्तं चापरयोगम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 17-20.

C.f. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 14-16. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 28-29.

³ पाणितृणशुक्लशुक्लकरम्भभयलसक्तु, शकमांस विष्टक्षीरविकारौषधिवनस्पतिमूलफल-
वनम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 19.

C.f. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 3.7-38, Manu. V. 25. V. 10, V. 24, Yaj. I. 167-68.

⁴ आपणीयमश्नीयात् । तृषारखानामांसमशुलवणानीति परित्यज्य । तैलसर्पिषी तृणयोजये-
दुदकेन पाय ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 14-16.

The process of separating impurities from clarified butter by the addition of cold water is followed to this day.

C.f. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 26.

⁵ यस्मिन्वाग्ने केचः स्वात् । अयद् वामेध्वम् । अमेध्वैरवमृष्टम् । कीटो वामेध्वसेवो ।
मूकलाङ्गो वा । परा वोपहृतम् । सिचा वा । शुना वापपात्रेण वा दृष्टम् । सिचा वोपहृतम् ।
दास्या वा नक्तमाहुतम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 23-32.

C.f. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 23, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.12.6, Mbh. Anu. 161-100.

prohibited.¹ Food which was smelt by human beings and impure animals such as cats was also avoided.²

But ideas of cleanliness appear to have been tempered with by sound commonsense. It was probably realized that it would be difficult to throw or discard food articles when prepared in bulk on the occasion of some religious ceremonies or marriages even if they were touched by dogs or crows. So the lawgivers prescribe that such food articles could be used after removing the defiled portion and sprinkling water on the remainder. Even food, left after a cat had eaten from it, was regarded as pure.³ Vasiṣṭha lays down that even stale food could be eaten after pouring over it curds or clarified butter.⁴

It is laid down that one should leave off eating if during his meal he is touched by a *Sādra*. He should not dine with unworthy people. It was considered improper to dine with one who gives his leavings to his pupils or gets up while others are eating.⁵ But it was customary for a wife to eat food left in her husband's plate.⁶

But some rigidity seems to have come with regard to the acceptance of food from various castes, for while some law givers

¹ नापरया दारा प्रपन्नमन्नं भुञ्जीत ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 3. 7.

² मनुष्यैरवप्राप्तमर्घैर्वा मेधयैः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 5.

³ देवद्रोण्यां विवाहेषु यज्ञेषु प्रकृतेषु च ।

कार्कः दधमिह संस्पृष्टमन्नं क्षत्रं विसर्जयेत् । २५ ।

तस्मादन्नमोक्ष्य शेषं संस्कारमर्हति ।

द्रवाणां प्लावनेनैव घनानां प्रोक्षणेन तु । २६ ।

मात्रारिमुखसंस्पृष्टं क्षुचि एव हि तद् भवेत् । २७ ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 25-27.

⁴ अन्नं पर्युषितं भावदुष्टं सकृत्लेखं पुनः सिद्धमाद्यमांसं पक्वं च कामं तु दद्यात् पुनश्च वा भिचारितमुपयुञ्जीत ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 24.

⁵ भुञ्जानं वा ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.33.

यत्र शूद्र उपस्पृशेत् । १ । अनर्हद्विवां समानपश्यती । २ ।

भुञ्जानेषु वा यन्नातुरावोच्छिष्टं प्रयच्छेदापमेदा । ३ ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.11-3.

⁶ भुक्तवोच्छिष्टं वध्वं प्रदाय यथार्थं गौर्दक्षिणा ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 3.22.

भुक्तवोच्छिष्टं वध्वं दद्यात् ।

Kh. Gr. Su. I. 4.17.

of the period lay down that food offered by people of any caste could be accepted, provided they follow the laws prescribed for them.¹ Others thought that this rule did not apply to a Sūdra unless he was *Dharmopanata*.² Food articles such as water, roots, milk, curds, roasted grain, small fish, venison and vegetables offered by a member of any caste could be accepted.³ Uncooked and unflavoured boiled food could also be accepted.⁴ In times of scarcity a Brāhmaṇa could eat even the food offered by a Sūdra but he is advised to leave the practice as soon as he obtains lawful livelihood.⁵ The food of a herdsman, a farmer, an acquaintance of the family, a barber or a family servant could, however, be eaten without any hesitation.⁶ Āpastamba clearly allows Sūdras to cook food under the supervision of an Ārya.⁷

It is also laid down that food offered by an association, by a general invitation, by an artisan, by a person who lives by the use of arms, by those who let out lodgings, by a physician, a usurer, should not be taken.⁸ Food served by a eunuch, the professional messenger of a king, a Brāhmaṇa who offers substances unfit for a sacrifice, a spy, a person who has become a hermit without observing the proper laws, a learned Brāhmaṇa who

¹ Gaut. Dh. Su. XII. 1.

² सर्ववर्णा स्वधर्मे वर्तमानानां भोक्तव्यं शूद्रवर्जमित्येके।११। तस्यापि धर्मोपन-
सस्य।१४। सुवर्णं दत्त्वा यशुं वा भुञ्जीत नात्यन्तमन्ववस्येद् वृत्तिं प्राप्य विरमेत्।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 13-15.

C.f. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 1, XVII. 7, Vas. Dh. Su. XX. 19.

³ Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 2.

In case of a sacrifice, however, Baudhāyana does not allow a Sūdra even to milk a cow. (Baud. Sr. Su. XXIV. 31.)

⁴ मध्वायं मासं मोसं भूमिर्मुक्तकानि रक्षा गव्युत्तिनिर्देशनं मुग्धमासस्योद्यतः प्रति-
गृह्णाणि। शयं वा गृह्णीरन्। कुशासस्य वा विरसास्य।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 1-4.

Ugra—a person whose father is a Vaiśya and mother a Sūdra.

⁵ स्वधर्मपयवृत्तौ सुवर्णं दत्त्वा यशुं वा भुञ्जीत।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18.6.

⁶ Gaut. Dh. Su. XVIII. 6.

⁷ मायोधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः संस्कारिः स्युः।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.4.

⁸ शङ्खाक्षमभोज्यम्।१६। परिकुटं च।१७। सर्वेषां च शिलाजीवाणाम्।१८। ये च
शस्त्रमाजीवन्ति।१९। ये चाधिम्।२०। निषक्।२१। वार्धुषिकः।२२।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 16-22.

C.f. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 2-27.

avoids everybody or who eats the food of anybody or who neglects the daily study of the Vedas and one whose wife is a Sūdra should also be avoided.¹

It is also laid down that a Brāhmaṇa student who has completed his Vedic studies should, as a matter of course, accept the food offered by a Brāhmaṇa. Such a student should not accept the food offered by members of any other caste. If a person is observing a penance the student should accept food only when the rites are over.²

Food supplied by a drunkenman, a mad man, a prisoner, he who learns the Veda from his son, a creditor who sits with his debtor hindering the fulfilment of his duties and vice versa was also avoided.³ Food, touched by a woman during her courses was, as before, considered impure.⁴ Food of those families where a death had taken place was avoided for ten days as also of those where a woman had not come out of her confinement chamber after parturition or where a corpse lay inside the house.⁵ Food, according to Āpastamba, touched by a high caste person, who was impure, could be eaten but brought by an impure Sūdra could not be eaten.⁶

¹ नलीवः।२७। रात्रौ प्रैषकरः।२८। सहविप्रीतिः।२९। चारी।३०। मन्त्रिणा च प्र-
जितः।३१। यश्चाग्नीनपास्यति।३२। यश्च सर्वान् वर्जयते सर्वप्री च श्रोत्रियो विराकृति-
वृषती पतिः।३३।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 28-33.

C.f. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.19.1, Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 17-18, XV. 18.

² अयाणां वर्णानां श्रद्धिप्रभृतीनां समावृत्तेन न भोज्यम्।१। प्रकृत्या प्राह्वयस्य
भोज्यम् कारणप्रोज्यम्।१०। यत्राश्रयस्त्वित कमसिक्ते प्रायश्चित्तवति।११। चरित-
निर्देशस्य भोज्यम्।१२।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 9-12.

³ मत्त उन्मत्तो बद्धोऽपि नः प्रत्युपविष्टो यश्च प्रत्युपवेशयते तावत्तं कालम्।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.19.1.

⁴ रजस्वताः कुण्डलशकुनिपदोपहृतम्।

Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 10

C.f. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 27 and 29, Vas. Dh. Su. V. 7.

⁵ यस्य कुले म्रियेत् न तत्रानिर्देशे भोज्यम्।१८। तथानुविधतायां सूतिकाग्राम्।१९।
अन्तः शनै च।२०।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 18-20.

⁶ अग्रयतोपहृतमन्नमग्रयतं न त्वभोज्यम्।२१।

अग्रयतेन तु सूदेणोपहृतमभोज्यम्।२२।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 21-22.

These law givers give long lists of those Brāhmanas who sanctify the company of diners and of those who defile such company. In the first category are mentioned those persons who comprehend the meaning of the Vedas, students, liberal donors, and persons who have attained the age of hundred years.¹ In the second category are persons suffering from leprosy, baldmen, persons guilty of adultery, Brāhmanas who follow the profession of arms and the son of a Sūdra with a Brāhmana mother.²

The authors of the Sūtras also lay down that one should not eat food which is given after reviling nor should one revile food while taking one's meals.³ Vasiṣṭha lays down that one should praise food, show one's delight at it and not find fault with it when it is served.⁴ Baudhāyana also lays down that a person should, while taking food, keep himself free from lust, anger hatred, greed and perplexity.⁵

Another important rule which we find in the Sūtras is that the food should suit the age and stage in life of a man. The food of children consisted of boiled rice with curds, honey, clarified butter or water. Some times they were given some meat preparations.⁶ Students were advised not to take food which

¹ निमग्निस्त्रिभुवर्षश्चिन्ताचिन्तितश्चतुर्मेवः पञ्चामिष्येष्टकामयो वेदाभ्यास्यनूक्तपुत्रः श्रोत्रिय इत्येते आद्रे भुञ्जानाः पङ्क्तिपाथना भवन्ति ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7. 17.22.

² शिवः शिपिविष्टः परतर्पणाम्यायुधीयपुत्रः शूद्रोत्पन्नो ब्राह्मण्यमित्येते आद्रे भुञ्जानाः पङ्क्ति दूषणा भवन्ति ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.17.21.

³ द्विपन् द्विपत्नी वा नाशमश्नीयद्दोषेण वा मीमांसमानस्य मीमांसितस्य वा ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 3.6.19.

कुल्लक्षित्या वा यत्रान्नं दद्युः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.4.

शरकन्दयन् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.6.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.7.

⁴ रोचत इति सार्धं प्रालरक्षनान्यभिपूजयेत् । स्वदितमिति मित्र्येषु सम्पन्नमित्याभ्युदाधिक्येपु ।

Vasiṣṭha Dh. Su. III. 62-62.

Cf. Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5.19, Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.3.11, Vishnu. Dh. Su. 68.42.

⁵ Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 3.5.21.

⁶ मद्योदनं दद्यात् मधुना घृतेनाद्विरिति समुदायुष्य द्विरप्येनोपधस्य कुमारं प्राक्षयति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 5.5.

Cf. Ap. Gr. Su. 6.16, Saakh. Gr. Su. I. 24.3, Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.1, Paras. Gr. Su. I. 19.8.

was offered at a sacrifice probably because it consisted of meat preparations and exciting dishes consisting of pungent condiments, salt and honey.¹ Ordinarily they were expected to go out for begging alms because, according to the authors of the Sūtras it made them humble. But there was no restriction on the quantity of food a student should take.²

A householder is also advised to take two full meals consisting of 32 mouthfuls so that he may be able to perform his work efficiently.³ Āpastamba also allows partaking of roots and fruits between the two principal meals.⁴ A newly married couple was, as already stated, not allowed to use pungent or saline food for three days after marriage.⁵ When a householder performed a sacrifice he was expected to take only fast day food in which meat and other exciting food stuffs were avoided.⁶ He was expected to eat only once in the afternoon and that too not

¹ गानुचेष्टं भुञ्जीत । २२। तृणाक्षारलवणमधुमांसानि । २३।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 1.2. 22-23.

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 4.6, Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 13, Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 3.23-24.,
Parsk. Gr. Su. II. 5.12, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 117. 19-23, Manav. Gr. Su. I. 1.
12.

³ भिक्षाचार्यं वृत्तिः स्यात् ।

Manav. Gr. Su. I. 1.2.

C.f. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 2.4.7., Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 2.52.

शब्दी यासां मृतेर्भक्ष्याः षोडशारण्यवासिनः ।

द्वाविंशत् गृहस्थस्यापरिमितं ब्रह्मचारिणः ।

Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.8.

गृहस्थो ब्रह्मचारी वा योनाशनंस्तु तपश्चरेत् ।

प्राणान्निहोत्रलोपेन ह्यवकीर्णी भवेत् सः ।

Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 17.10.

C.f. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.9.13.

⁵ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 1.1.2, II. 8.19.10, II. 4.9. 12-13, Vas. Dh. Su. VI. 20-21
Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.10, Gaut. Dh. Su. 9.59, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 2.9.

सिद्धे सायं प्रतर्भूतमित्युक्त ओमित्युच्चैर्ब्रूयात् ।

Khadira Gr. Su. I. 3.20.

⁶ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.10.

⁷ तावुभौ तत्रमृति विराजमक्षारलवणाग्निौ ब्रह्मचारिणौ भूयो शमीयताम् ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 3.15.

⁸ अथराह्णे स्नातृवौषधसधिकंदमयी भुञ्जीयाताम् ।

Khadira Gr. Su. II. 1.4.

अह्नि मा ॐ सदैयुने वर्जयेत् ।

Katya. Sr. Su. II. 1.8.

C.f. Saikh. Sr. Su. III. 8.18.

to satiety when observing a fast.¹

Hermits generally lived upon roots, fruits, leaves, straws or gleanings of corn.² They could include clarified butter and curds in their food, but not stale food, pungent condiments, saline preparations or meat.³ Many ascetics subsisted only on milk and barley gruel.⁴ All the Sūtras lay down that the foresters should practise moderation in food. They should only take as much food as was necessary to maintain life.⁵

We also find some rules of etiquette in the Sūtras. It is laid down that one should eat sitting on a piece of ground which has been purified by the application of cowdung etc. He should not eat in a boat or on a wooden platform.⁶ It is prescribed that he should sit with his face towards the east or towards the south. But facing the south is not allowed if the diner's mother is alive.⁷ A person should have his sacred thread as also his upper garment when taking his meals.⁸

Some other rules of etiquette were that a person should not make a sound with his mouth, and should not speak while

¹ अपराह्णे व्रतोपायनीयमपनीतः सपिक्वाश्रुहितो ।

Kath. Sr. Su., Su. II. 1.10.

C.f. *Saṁhita* Pan. II. 2.11. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.9.

² ततो मूलं फलं पर्णस्तुणैरिति वर्तयश्चरेत् । शिलोच्छेन वर्तयेत् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 9.25.2.

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 9.22.10.

C.f. Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 2.15.

³ Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 2.22.

C.f. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 13.

⁴ Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 7.8.

⁵ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.9.13, Vasistha. Dh. Su. 6. 20.21, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7. 31-32, II. 7.13.2.

⁶ कुतभूमी तु भुञ्जीत ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.8.

न नगवि भुञ्जीत । तथा प्रासादे ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 6-7.

The skin of an ox was used as a seat in this period.

गृहगतां पतिपुत्रपौत्रसम्पन्नां ब्राह्मण्योश्चरोयानवुद्दे चर्मपुण्ड्रेशयन्ति ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 4.6.

⁷ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8. 191-92, I. 11.31.1, Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 18.

पाणिपादं प्रक्षाल्य . . . वाय्वतो दक्षिणा मुखी भुञ्जीत ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.1.

⁸ सीतराच्छादनस्त्वेव यज्ञोपवीती भुञ्जीत ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.16.

taking his meals.¹ Biting off pieces from a cake with teeth² and drinking water standing or bending forward were also considered unmannerly.³ Eating in the company of one's wife and⁴ serving fats, salts and condiments in the hand were considered improper.⁵ Declaring the qualities of food was considered unmannerly.⁶ In a party one was not to begin eating before others and was not to leave the party while others were taking food. All others were expected to abstain from eating after anyone had left.⁷

Āpastamba forbids the use of dark grains such as *Māṣa* beans in a *Śrāddha*.⁸ Eating garlic, onions, mushroom, turnips and *Śleśmātaka* fruit is also forbidden. The use of red sap flowing from incisions made in the bark of trees and of food preparations which have turned sour is interdicted.⁹

It appears that generally warm food fried in ghee was liked.¹⁰ Some people observed fasts while some were glut-

¹ न च मुखशब्दं कुप्यत् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.10.

हस्तं त्रासं वसीत न च मुख शब्दं कुप्यत् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.9-10.

C.f. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.4. 22-23, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.6.

² वङ्गिरूपस्य नापच्छिन्नात् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.17.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.8.

³ Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.1.

⁴ भार्यया सह नावनीयादवीर्षवदपत्यं भवतीति वाजसनेयके विज्ञायते ।

Vas. Dh. Su. 12. 29.

⁵ हस्तदत्तास्तु ये स्नेहं ज्वणाम्यञ्जनानि च दातारं नोपतिष्ठन्ति भोक्ता भुञ्जीत किल्बिषम् ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 16.

⁶ Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 29-30.

⁷ Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.3, Gaut. Dh. Su. 17.19.

⁸ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18.2.

⁹ लक्ष्मणपलाण्डके मुकुञ्जमस्त्यम्भतकवृक्षनिर्मासलोहितवचनदवकाकावसीदशूद्रोच्छिष्टभोजनेषु कुञ्जं अतिकुञ्जं इतरेष्वन्यत्र मधुमांसफलविकर्षेणशाम्पपत्राव विषयः । १२८।

संधिनीक्षीरमवस्ताक्षीरं गोमहिष्यजानामनिर्दशाहानामन्तर्निष्पुदकमपूपधानाकारम्भ-सक्तुवटकर्तलपद्मशाकानि शुकलानि वर्जयेत् शय्यांश्च क्षीरं खपिष्टविकारान् । १२९।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 28-29.

¹⁰ Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 29.

तेन सपिप्मता ब्राह्मणं भोजयेत् ।

Ap. Gr. Su. III. 7.15.

tons.¹ The custom of feeding domestic servants seems to have been common.² The leavings of food (*Sarāva odana*) were perhaps given to scavengers. Food left in the vessel from which it was served (*Mallaka odana*) was probably given to the barber and food left behind in the cooking pot (*Kārpara odana*) to the cooks.³

At the time of *Upanayana* ceremony a common dinner was given to the playmates of the boy who was to be invested with sacred thread.⁴ When a householder entered a new house people feasted themselves with liquor, curds, honey, ghee and barley preparations.⁵ When a bride was brought to her husband's house some women enjoyed a feast with food articles, vegetables and liquor and performed a dance. Green or ripe fruits were given as a present to the bride.⁶

In connection with a *Śrāddha* the *Brāhmaṇas* were informed two days before, reminded the next day and again requested to grace the occasion on the actual day of the ceremony.⁷ *Vasiṣṭha* lays down that the invitation should be extended to three ascetics, or three householders who are well versed in Vedic studies, are not very aged and do not follow forbidden occupations. But *Baudhāyana* prescribes that ordinarily two *Brāhmaṇas* should be fed in a sacrifice and three in a *Śrāddha*. They were made to sit on seats made of grass.⁸ The food preparations were generally mixed with ghee and included sesamum and meat. In the absence

¹ *Vrata*—Pan. III. 1.31.

Andarika—Pan. V. 2.67.

Gharmara
Admara }—Pan. III. 2. 160.

² *Odanika, Śrāpika, Apūpika.*

³ Pan. Ag. (H), p. 129.

⁴ *Baudh. Gr. Su.*

⁵ *Paṭ. Gr. Su. III. 4.*

⁶ *Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 11.4.*

तस्मै शकलोटाञ्जसावाचयेयुः। कलानिवा।

Gobhila Gr. Su. II. 4.8.9.

⁷ पूर्वैर्दुनिवेदयम्। ११। अपरेयुर्वितीयम्। १२। तृतीयसामन्त्रणम्। १३।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.17. 11-13.

⁸ *Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 15.*

पृथक् मांसं चोदनं चापूपान्श्च अपयन्त्यन्वांश्च भक्षयित्वेवात्सर्गं सिद्धं सभातीया-
मुन्मान् ब्राह्मणान् सुप्रशान्तिपाणिपादानपञ्चाचमयं सदर्थोपकृत्योष्वासानेषु द्वौ देवौ त्रीन्
पित्र्ये एकैकमुच्यते वा ब्राह्मणानपवेसात्पुद्गमुक्षान् वा।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.16.

of meat and ghee, vegetables and oil were used by poor people. But Āpastamba prohibits the use of oil cakes, wine, meat, dark grains and food obtained from a Śūdra.¹ The custom of offering a ball of flour to the manes seems to be very old as it is mentioned in the Nirukta and the Lātyāyana Sr. Su.²

Baudhāyana mentions drinking liquor as a peculiar custom of the Brāhmanas in the north and taking food cooked overnight and in the company of their wives, or uninitiated persons as a peculiar custom of the inhabitants of the south.³

To sum up, in the Sūtras rice occupies the same important place among the foodgrains as barley. Some fine preparations such as *Prīṭhaka* and *sainjāva* were used. Of the pulses, besides *Māṣa* and *Mudga*, *Kṣiattha*, *Āḍhaki* and gram had come into use. *Vaṭakas* and *Parpaṭas* were also prepared with pulses. Aryans were fully acquainted with the process of making sugarcane products in this period. Meat of animals, which were considered unhygienic, was avoided. Perhaps drinking was common but Brāhmanas avoided all intoxicating drinks while the Kṣattiyas and Vaiśyas, only those prepared from cereals. Much stress was laid on the practice of the virtue of hospitality and purity of food. The notion of food getting defiled by contact with persons not leading virtuous lives or following low professions was much developed in Madhyadeśa.

¹ Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.11, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 8.8, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.64.
स्नेहवति त्वेवाश्वे पितृणां प्रीतिर्दायीयाहं च कालम्।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.24.

नेत्यमिकं तु आदं स्नेहवदेव दद्यात्।१७। तपिर्मांसमिति प्रथमः कल्पः।१८। अन्नावे
तलं शाकमिति।१९।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19. 17-19.

विलम्बनं भक्षितं पिण्याकं मधु मांसं च वर्जयेत्।१।

कृष्णधाम्न्यं कृदाश्वं ये चाम्येनाश्चसंगताः।२।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18. 1-2.

तिलाश्वाद्धे पवित्रं यदि दानाय यदि भोजनाय यद्यपि संसर्जनाय।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.64.

खट्वः श्वाद्धे पवित्रं यदि मांसं यस्यस्विमयं पात्रम्।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.65.

² Nirukta III. 4.

Lātya. Sr. Su. II. 10.4.

³ Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 1.2. 3-4.

SECTION 2 (EARLY BUDDHIST AND JAIN WORKS)

CEREALS AND PULSES

In the Buddhist and Jain works food has been classified into four categories—soft food such as boiled rice, hard food such as roots and fruits, beverages and relishable articles.¹ But, the food grains, particularly rice was the staple food of the people in the north eastern India.² Rice was also provided at the public rest houses.³ Both the varieties of rice *Vribi* (common variety) and *Sāli* (fine variety) were equally popular.⁴ But it appears that *Sāli* rice with its three famous varieties *Raktasāli*, *Kalamasāli* and *Mahāsāli* was the favourite food of the rich.⁵ *Kalamasāli* was cultivated in Magadha and is recommended as the best food in

¹ Digh 30 (Lakkhana Sutta).

Soft food (*Bhojaniya*)^a in the Buddhist works includes boiled rice (*salame*), boiled mixture of barley and beans (*khummasā*), parched barley meal (*sakka*), meat (*maṅkasa*) and fish (*maccha*) while hard food (*khādaniya*)^b includes roots, stalks, leaves flowers and fruit.

(a) Vin. IV. 92, J. 127, J. III. 349, J. 339.

(b) Vin. Mahāvagga VI. 16, Bhikkhu. Pati V. 35, Bhikkhuni Pati IV 120.

In the Jain works the four categories of food articles are called *asana* (soft food), *Khāṇa* (hard food), *Pāna* (beverages) and *Sāṇa* (relishable articles).

Aca. II. 1228, 523, Nisi III. 1, Naya. I. 72, Vipak. I. 38.

² *Sāli* and *Vribi*—Majjhima I. 57, Panna. I. 23, 40, Bhatk. Su. II. 1, Bhag. XIV. 7.13, I. 340, 113, 343, Thera G. 381.

In the south also rice must have been the staple food grain as it was exported from India to Babylon in the 6th century B.C. The Greek word *Oryza* is from the Tamil word 'Arisi' (rice).

T.R. Sesh Iyengar—The Ancient Dravidians, p. 136.

³ Milind. I. 10, II. 5, J. 31.

⁴ *Vribi*—J. I. 340, 113, 543, Thera. G. 381.

Panna. I. 23-40, Bhag. XXI. 2-5.

Sāli—J. 325, 512, III. 144, Milind I. 157.

Thera. G. 381, Digh. I. 103, II. 293, Vin. IV. 264.

Majjhima. I. 57, Ang. IV. I. 32.145, III. 49, IV. 108.

Brhatk. Bha. I. 828, Sutra II. 1, Panna. I. 23-24.

सालीनामोदनं भुञ्जे सुनि मांसुसेचनम् ।

J. III. 144.

⁵ *Raktasāli* (red variety) J. 73, Brhatk. Bha. II. 3301, Milind. 252 calls it *Sālisohitaka*.

Kalamasāli—It was cultivated in Magadha. (Thera G. 208).

Cf. Uva. I. 2.35, Sutra II. 18.30.

Mahāsāli—Brhatk. Bha. II. 3301.

Gandhasāli—(P fragrant variety) Brhatk. Bha. II. 3301.

the Uva.¹ Rice was cooked with choicest flavours.² A mixture of rice and sesamum was very popular.³ Boiled rice was generally liked hot.⁴ Next to boiled rice the favourite preparation of rice was a gruel (*Yāgu*) which is highly praised both in the Buddhist and the Jain works.⁵ Parched rice was sweetened before eating. Besides *Prthuka* and ordinary cakes (*apāpa*), delicious ones (*Saṣkuli*) were prepared from rice.⁶ Sometimes cakes were pre-

¹ कलम खालि ओदणेणं अन्नसेसं ओदणविहिं पच्चक्खाति ।

Uva. I. 35.

² तानान्नरसम् तासि भत्तम् पङ्के हीति ।

J. 450.

तानाग्नं रसेहि सूप व्यञ्जनेहि भत्तपातिम् सज्जेत्वा ।

J. 496.

³ *Tilodana*—J. III. 425.

⁴ भत्तं सम्पादित्वा तूपस्यञ्जसम्पन्नम् उण्ह भत्तम् वड्ढेत्वा ।

J. 212.

⁵ यमुं देन्तो धामुं देति, वण्णम् देति, मुज्जं देति, वज्रं देति, पटिभानम् देति, यागुपीता खुदम् पटिह्वनति, पिपासम् विनोदेति, वातम् अनुलोमेति, यस्मिन् सोधेति, ग्रामावसेसम् पोचति । इमे खो ब्राह्मण देशा निशंसा यागु यासति ।

Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 24.5.

उदरं ज्ञाता वाधो ते कटुलाय यागु या फासु हीतीति सामम् तिलम् पि तण्डुलम् मुग्गम् पि पञ्चां वेत्ता अन्तो वासेत्वा अन्तो सोमम् पचिस्वा भगवतो उपनामेति विवत्तु भगवा के कटुला यागुमुसि ।

Vin. VI. 17.1.

C.f. Vin. Mahavagga (H) VI. 4.3, Vin. Mahavagga. I. 298.10, VI. 25.3, 33.3. J. 109.

Kaṭṭhapaṭṭi was some good variety of gruel as it is recommended in the Uva.

कट्ठ पिज्जाते अवसेसं पिज्ज विहिं पच्चक्खाति ।

Uva. I. 33.

According to the commentary it was a decoction of some pulses such as Mudga or other corn or of rice fried in ghee.

मुग्गादि कूषः शृतसहितं तण्डुलं देया वा ।

⁶ *Jhāṇabhātta*—(parched rice).

ओदनं काञ्चिकं उज्झाम् भत्तम् विहासं तिणम् खादपेत्वा कुण्डकं यागुञ्च पापेत्वा पटिह्वयापि ।

J. 254.

C.f. J. IV. 214, 281.

Madhūṅga (Parched barley sweetened with sugar).

मच्छं मोसं फलां फलाहिं च एव मधुलाजं सक्खरां पानकादीहि च परिजग्गिंसु ।

J. 339.

कच्चनलट्टके मधुलाजे सक्खरोदकाञ्च शपेत्वा ।

J. 476.

pared from broken rice grains. Scum of boiled rice was also used as food.¹

Besides rice, barley and wheat were also used but they were not so popular.² Barley continued to be parched and ground into meal.³ Cakes of wheat are frequently mentioned.⁴ Some other inferior cereals such as *Kodrava*, *Syāmāka*, *Cinaka* and *Priyamgu* were used by poor people and ascetics.⁵ Cakes prepared

Pāwa—(sweet cakes)

पूव सखलि श्रादीनि चैव कला दीनि च हरन्ती ।

J. 252.

Pinda. Nir. 557.

Pibuya (*Prībuka*)

पिह्यं वा बहुह्यं वा भुज्जियं वा मधुं वा चाडलं वा चावलपल्लवं वा ।

Aca. II. 1. 127.

Sakakuli (*Sakakuli*)

पिडं वा लोयं वा ग्रसनं वा, पाणं वा, लीरं वा, दधि वा, घनं वा, गुलं वा, लेखं वा, सककुलि वा काणियं वा पूवं वा सिहरणि वा

Aca. I. 45. 566.

Bḥatk. I. 2.8, Das. V. 71.

¹ *Kanapāwa*—(cakes prepared from broken rice grains) J. 109.

Ayāma—(scum of boiled rice) Uttara XV.

² Barley

पुडवी खाली जवा चैव हिरणं पशुभिस्ताह ।

यदि पुणं नाल भेगस्त इह विज्जा तवं चरे ।

Uttara IX. 49.

Sutra. II. 1, Paṇṇa. I. 23-40, Bhag. XIV. 7.13, J. I. 373, II. 110, III. 216, IV. 580.

Wheat

तिल तण्डुला मुद्ग भापा जवा गोधूम मसूरः शाखवः ।

Vin. (Mahāvagga) VI. 16.33.

Sutra. II. 1, Paṇṇa. I. 23-40, Bhag. XIV. 7. 13, Bḥatk Bha. I. 828.

³ *Saktu*—Ava. Cu. II. 317.

Mantha—Aca. II. 1.527.

⁴ *Khajjaka*—Cakes prepared with wheat flour.

Sometimes they were coated with sugar. It seems they were very much liked.

अहं माणु दातुं न सखित्तमि सखज्जकेण न दस्सामीति सण्हण कुण्डक बहुपत्ता ।

J. 109.

J. 194.

ययपुण्णेहि खंडखज्जेहि वा प्रबसेयं भक्कणविहि पक्ककसाति ।

Uva. I. 34.

⁵ *Kodrava*—(*Paspalum scrobiculatum*). It was generally eaten by the poor. Vin. Ma. II. 211.14, Bhag. XXI. 3, Sutra. II. 1, Paṇṇa. I. 23-40.

Syāmāka—Digh. I. 166, Majjhima. I. 78, Angu. I. 295, II. 206.

Sutt. Np. II. 1, J. 346, S.B.B. V. 110, Vin. Mahāvagga. II. 211.14, J. III. 144, Samyutta. N. II. 2.1.

with some inferior grains are mentioned in the Buddhist and Jain works as the food of the poor people.¹ Of the pulses the most popular were *Mudga*, *Māṣa*, *Maśīra*, (lentil), *Kulāttha* (horsegram), *Kaṭyā* (pea) and *Āḍbaki*.² Some other varieties are also mentioned.³ The most common preparation was a soup (*Yāsa*

Chaka—(*Panicum miliacium*).

कोद्वो वा श्यामको वा चित्रको वा पियङ्गुर्वा।

Vin. Mv. II. 211.14.

Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Priyaṅgu—J. 546, Vin. Mahavagga. II. 211.14., Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40, Bhag. XXI. 3.

Varaka—a variety of *Priyaṅgu* is also mentioned. Bhag. XXI. 3, Sutra. II. 2.

¹ *Kumāsā*—J. 415, Ghatika Sutra 8r, Ratthapāla Sutra. 82, S.B.B. V. 177, Vin. Mahavagga. II. 269.15, 277.18, Majjhima. II. 176,

Cake prepared with inferior grains were also used.

अन्तरापणतो वत्तारो कुम्मासपिण्डे गहेत्वा

J. 415.

² *Mudga*

यवि वा भुगयूसम् यदि वा कुलथयूसम्

यवि वा कलाययूसम् यदि वा हरेणुयूसम्।

S.B.B. V. 176.

Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33, J. 115, Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Māṣa—Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33, J. 546, Bhag. XXI. 2, Su. II. 1.

तिलतण्डुलामुद्गमापायवागीधूममसूराःशालयः।

Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33.

Maśīra—Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33, Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Kulāttha—Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Kaṭyā—S.B.B. V. 176, J. 176, From J. I. 176 we learn that it was given to horses.

Āḍbaki—Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

³ *Capaka* (gram)—Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Hareru (a kind of pea)—S.B.B. V. 176, Vin. Mahavagga. I. 245, J. V. 405, VI. 537.

Other food grains mentioned in the Jain works are:

Akuythaka (modern kuttu) Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Sapa (*Linum usitatissimum*) Ibid

Nippāva (*Nispāva*) Ibid

Altianpaga—a grain coming from Alexandria (a variety of chickpea).

Ibid

Atasi (linseed) Ibid

Pāṇimantaka Ibid

Kummbha (safflower) Ibid

Rāḍga (the resin of *Shorea Rubusta*) Ibid

ब्रे जहणामए केरपुरिते कलमनमूरतिलमुगमातनिष्कावकुलथयलितंदपलिनंथ गमदि

एहि।

Sutra II. 18.30.

or *Sāpa*) but round balls of pulses fried in clarified butter were common. These round balls were made sour by fermentation. *Parpaṣa* (very thin cakes) were also prepared with pulses.¹

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Besides food grains, milk and its products were important articles of food both for the Buddhists and the Jains.² The Buddha himself allowed them to his followers.³ Sometimes some pungent drugs were added to milk so that it might be used as a cure for cold.⁴ In addition to the milk of cows and buffaloes that of camels and goats was also used.⁵ Milk rice was a favourite

सालिशीहि गोधूमज्वाकलममूरतिलमुग्धाभासणिष्कावकुलस्थश्चलितं स ईष एलिषा।
अथसौकुसुमकीद्वकंगूरालवस्तु केहे सासणसरित्तवमूलगवीयमाद्वादेस भेएण।

Panna. I. 23-40.

¹ *Yāpa*—भवति रतगन्धयोसो।

Vin. Mv. I. 298.1.

Sāpa—कलवसुहेण वा मुग्धाभासमूएण वा अथसेसं सुपविहि पच्चवत्ताति।

Uva. I. 36.

वागु यो पचन्ति भतानि पचन्ति गुपानि सम्पादेन्ति मंसानि कोट्टेन्ति।

Vin. Mv. VI. 33.3.

Cooked pulses were also called *Aparanṇa*.

अपरणं नाम सुपेय्यम्।

Anguttara. IV. 112.

Parpaṣa—Mink. 147.4, Acc. II. 1. 327, Panna. I, Acc. 614.

Vafaka—(round balls).

सेहं व दासिअं वेहि अथसेसं जौमणविहि पच्चवत्ताति।

Uva. I. 40.

C.f. Uva. I. 38.

² सेय्यद्यानि चित्तववा खीरं, खीरम्हादधि, दधिम्हा नवनीतं, नवनीतम्हा तप्पि, सप्पिम्हा सप्पिमण्डो।

Digh. N. Potthapāda Sutta. 34.

Vin. Mv. (H) VI. 6.3, Vin. I. 243, II. 301, Majjhima. I. 343, Ang. II. 207, Puggala Pannati 36, Ang. II. 95, Digh. I. 201, Dhamma. Ti. 198, Vin. Mv. VI. 34.21 J. I. 296, 388, 457.

³ The milk products which the Buddha allowed to his followers were milk, curds, butter milk, butter and ghee. Mahavagga (H) VI. 6.3.

इमानि खौ पच्च भेपक्खानि हेय्यथीदम् सप्पि नवनीतम् तेलम् सधु फणितम् भेस-
ज्जानि।

Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21.

⁴ तिखिणभेसज्जपरिवारितं खीरं पिबन्ति।

J. 127.

⁵ Av. Cu. II. 319.

food¹ and the Jains used dried pieces of cloth moistened with milk, for drinking water mixed with this dried milk.²

Of the milk products curds were the most important.³ From curds was prepared the favourite dish *Sikharipi* by mixing crystal sugar and some pungent spices.⁴ Fresh butter and clarified butter were much used.⁵ In the Uva, cow's ghee is regarded as the best especially its creamy part (*Mogga*).⁶ Butter milk and a preparation of it called *Sāga* were in common use.⁷

MEAT PREPARATIONS

From the Buddhist works we know that the number of non-vegetarian people was considerable.⁸ We read of a meat market in Mithilā,⁹ and of slaughter houses¹⁰ and fishermen selling fish at other places.¹¹ Venison was sold at cross roads outside Bana-

¹ मत्स्यं गन्धं पत्रं तण्डुलाञ्च चतुर्नामं खीरस्त अञ्जुरं सक्खराय, करण्डकम् मधुस्क, एकञ्च पचनभाजनं देहि ।

Sudhābhajana J. No. 335.

J. I. 162, III. 205, Nisi IX. 311.

² *Kholas*

Behack. Bha. I. 2882, 2892.

³ पिप्पलं वा लोयणं वा खीरं वा दहि वा सर्पिं वा तक्षणीयं वा तेल्ले वा काणियं वा मूत्रे वा सक्कुली वा सिहरिणी वा ।

Behack. Su. I. 18.

Digh. Pothapāda Sutta 34, Vin. Mv. VI. 33-21. J. 123-277, Aca. II. 1, Nisi. VIII. 18.

⁴ Aca. II. 1.4.247.

⁵ जो निरम्बु रणो खतिपाण जाव निसीताणं खणिहि सणि विवाओ खीरं वा दहि वा नवणियं वा, सर्पिं वा, गुलं वा, खंडं वा, सकरं वा भंछडियं वा अणायरं वा भोषणं जावं पटिगहेइ ।

Nisi. VIII. 18.

Vin. Mv. VI. 33-21.

⁶ तन्नय गोमय भंडेण अवसेसं वयविहिं पचयस्सति ।

Uva. I. 37.

Vin. Mv. VI. 33-21, Vin. Culla. IV. 45, J. 106, 130, 154, 186, 277, Nisi. III. 18.

⁷ *Sāga*—A preparation seasoned with butter milk such as *dobikhañi* etc.

J. C. Jain, p. 123.

⁸ चतुष्पदम् सकुणञ्चापि मांसम् सूदेहि रत्नं मुकटं मुनिदिक्कम् ।

सुधेव इन्दो परिभुञ्जीयान हित्वा कथो इको रोमसी भरल्ले ।

J. 337.

J. IV. 370, V. 489.

⁹ J. 408.

¹⁰ Vin. Mv. VI. 10, Vin. Culla. V. 104, J. V. 408, VI. 61, 546.

¹¹ नानामन्धमांसविकतिपरिवारभोजनम् सम्पादेत्वा शोकं भोजनानि विचारित्वा उभुयं पलापेन्तो सट्ठासि ।

J. 292.

Aag. N. III. 301-303, J. 21, 34, 114.

ras¹ and there were some villages inhabited by hunters.² Then meat and fish are frequently mentioned with other eatables in the Buddhist works.³ Venison, pork and flesh of fowls seem to be very popular⁴ but flesh of oxen, *godhā* and birds was also used as food.⁵ Some people killed sheep, goats, poultry and swine in sacrifices⁶ but flesh of monkeys, pigeons and beef was also eaten.⁷ Kings killed many animals in hunting and enjoyed their flesh.⁸ Thus it seems that both the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas had no objection to taking meat. We know that some ascetics lived on snippets of hides.⁹ We also learn from the Jain sources that many birds, fish and animals were killed and their flesh served on festive occasions.¹⁰ Some people even took beef and eggs.¹¹

¹ J. III. 49, V. 458, VI. 62.

² J. II. 182, IV. 252, 334, 337, 341, V. 41.

³ J. 339, 418, 436.

Mahāvagga (H) VI. 4.4.

⁴ Venison—J. 420.

Pork—Nyagrodha J. 12, Kumra J. 21, J. 186.

Fowls—

सा कुक्कुटमांसञ्च भक्षञ्च सम्पदित्वा ।

J. 254.

Sri J. 248, Nyagrodha J. 444.

⁵ Oxen—J. 144.

Godhā—तिनिद्ध सम्भारयुतं अम्बिलालम्बलम् गोधामांसम् ।

J. 138.

Birds—A captured bird cries 'what fate for one caught in a net except the cruel spit.'

कानु पासेन बद्धस्तं गृह्णन्त्या महानसा ।

J. 33.

J. 537.

⁶ J. 50, J. 142, 489, 362.

⁷ Monkeys—Mahākapi. J. 402.

Pigeons—अथ अस्मै एकं दिवसं पञ्चन्तं गामवासिनो पारापतनांसं अमिसं खरित्वा अदंमु ।

J. 277.

Beef—Langusṭha J. 144, Gahapati J. 199.

⁸ J. 537.

⁹ Kassapa Sihanāda J.

¹⁰ Sutra II. 18.21, Aca. II. 1.4 245, 247, Bhag. I. 8.46.

Uttara XII. 7, XIX. 64, Panna. I. 33, Vipaka. VIII. 46, 47, Vipaka.

VIII. 10.

Suriyapannati. 51. p. 151.

¹¹ देवानामिवा मम कोलं धरि एहि गोवए हितो कत्ता कल्लि दुवे दुवे गोण पोयए उद्दवे-
हता मम उवणेह ।

Uva. VIII. 12.

तएणं से तिरिए महाणसिए बहुणं जलयर यलयर खडयर मंसाद्दं कम्पाणी कप्पियाद्दं
करेद्दं तं जहा सण्ह खडियाणिय वट्ठं दीह रहस्स हिमपक्काणिय कात्ताणिय हरंगाणिय

We read also of ascetics who lived on the flesh of elephants.¹ In certain circumstances even the Jains, who are so particular about the protection of life, took meat. In the country of Sindhu many people lived on flesh diet.²

Flesh roasted on spits is frequently mentioned.³ Meat of sheep dressed with salt and pepper and fried in oil is mentioned in the Sūtra.⁴ Venison, partridges and fowls were roasted on live charcoal.⁵ Meat soup was also common.⁶ Ghee, curds and spices were used in cooking meat.⁷ The flesh of a *Godhā* dressed with spices and vinegar was considered a delicious dish.⁸ Meat cooked with rice seems to have been a favourite dish of the Brāhmaṇas.⁹ Sometimes a meat soup was prepared with

महिद्वष्टणिव आम्ल रसियाणिया मुहिया कविट्ठा दालिमरसिया मच्छरस तलियाणिया,
भज्जिया, सोल्लिया उव्वसडावेत्ता अण्णो बह्वे मच्छरस एव, एणिव रस एव, तित्तिर रस
एव, जव मयूर रस एव—उव्वण्णइ।

Vipaka. VIII. 10.

कुण्ड खंडे एव जलजललेचर भाईणखंडए कंदुमुय भज्जणाए सुय इंगाले मुय तलिति
भज्जन्ति सोल्लिति।

Vipaka. III. 18.

Vipaka. VIII. 46.47, Uttara XXII. 14.

¹ Sūtra. II. 6, X. 92.

² Bhag. XV., Nisī. Cu. 134, at 16.

³ तुहं पिपाइं मंसाइं खण्डाइं सोल्लयाणिव।
खावि भोमि स मंसाइ अण्णि बण्णाइ जेगहो।

Uttara. XIX. 70.

C.f. Sūtra. II. 6.

दुस्स मे सोत्तपालस्य रतिभत्तम् भ्रमा भसम्।
मांसमूला च द्वे गोधा एकाश्च दधि वारकम्।

J. 316.

⁴ J. 33, 339.

⁵ तित्तिरकुक्कुटादयो भारेणा मांसम् अंगारेणु पक्वित्वा।

J. 312.

C.f. Vipaka. II. 14, III. 22.

⁶ *Sūpa* or *Upatecana*

सो तेसम् सुप व्यञ्जन रथाय।

J. I. 420.

यानु यो पक्व भत्तानि पक्व सुपानि सम्पादेय । उत्तरिभंगानि सम्पादेय इति।
Vin. Culla. VI. 41.

भसम् सुचिम् मांसुपसेचनम्।

J. 398.

⁷ लप्पिदधिकट्टकभण्डादीनि।

J. I. 325.

C.f. J. I. 420.

⁸ सिनिद्ध संमारयुत्तम् अन्निलालम्बलमृगोधाभांसम्।

J. 138.

⁹ J. 343, VI. 238.

Rohita fish and eaten with great relish with *Sāli* rice.¹ There are many references to seasoned meat both in the Buddhist and Jain works.² Meat fried in oil and salted and spiced with pepper is frequently mentioned in the Jain literature.³ Some other preparations of meat are mentioned in the *Vipāka*, III. p. 46.⁴

The Buddhists did not believe that purity comes through food.⁵ It is stated that those who take life are at fault but not the persons who eat flesh.⁶ Meat and fish are invariably included in the eatables in the Buddhist works.⁷ Buddha preferred non-violence to violence.⁸ He condemned animal sacrifices,⁹ but he did not insist on his followers being strict vegetarians. He wanted to restrict the killing of animals,¹⁰ so he advised his followers not to take meat preparations if an animal or fish was killed expressly for them.¹¹ No follower of his was allowed to kill an animal for food in normal times¹² but meat of

¹ विन्न रोहितमच्छरत्तम् नवघतमिस्सकम्सात्तिमत्तम् ।

J. 292.

² J. III. 100, 378, VI. 62, *Vipāka*. II. 14, III. 22.

³ *Vipāka*. II. 14, III. 22, *Sutra*. II. 6, 19.

⁴ *Sakkakapāṇiya*, *Vassakapāṇiya*, *Dibbakapāṇiya*, *Rahassakapāṇiya*, *Himapakha*, *Jammapakha*, *Vegapakha*, *Māṅgapakha*, *Kāla*, *Heraṅga*, *Mahāṅga*.

Vipāka, III, p. 46.

⁵ Vin. Mv. I. 80.

⁶ *Suttanipāṭa* II. 2. 3-9, J. 246.

⁷ Vin. IV. 83, J. 339, 418, 436.

⁸ Bhikkhu, *Paṭimokkha* V. 61, *Samyutta*. III. 1-9.

⁹ न तेन शरियो होति येन पाणानि हिंससि ।

अहिंसा सम्ब पाणानं शरियोति पवुच्चसि ।

Dhammapada. 270.

तयो च देवा पितरो इन्द्रो असुर रत्नसता ।

अथम्मो इति पनखन्वुं य सत्त्वं निपति गये ।

Sutta, *Nipata*. II. 7-27.

Cf. Vin. Mv. I. 16.

¹⁰ Even in this period, it appears that animals were not killed on Sabbath day (*Uposatha divasena*). J. 220, Vin. III. 53.

¹¹ न हि भिक्षवे जानम् उद्दिश्यदम् मांस परिभुञ्जितवन्तम् ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 31.141.

Buddha considered *drṣṭa* (seen), *śrūta* (heard) and *pariśankṣita* (suspected) meat inedible.

Jivaka Suttānta. 55.2.1-5.

Cf. Vin. Culla. VII. 3-15, *Majjhima* (II) 55.

¹² न च मयं जीवित हेतुं पि

सञ्चिञ्च पाणं निवितं बोरो पेम्भाम ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 31.

wild animals could be cooked in times of distress or in some extraordinary illness.¹

Jain monks did not accept any food article which involved *biṃśā*.² It was for this reason that they always avoided taking meals at night.³ Jinadatta is said to have avoided meat preparations even when they were prescribed by a physician.⁴ But in extreme distress some of them had no objection to taking them.⁵

The Buddha and Mahāvīra impressed upon their followers the need of avoiding slaughter of animals and succeeded to such a great extent in changing the attitude of the people that even Brahmanical works such as the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti prescribe sacrifices where no slaughter of animals is involved.⁶

SWEETS

Honey was in common use.⁷ It had three varieties—of

¹ Vin. III. 38, Vin. Mahavagga, VI. 1.10, 23.10, 23.14.

पोष्यनिकं गच्छेत्वा उरुमांसम् उक्कन्तिन्वा दासिया यदासि ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 23.3.

सो शूकरं सुगन्धं गन्धं आमकं मांसम् सादि आमकं बोहितम् विवि ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 23.10.

Scholacs are not unanimous about the meaning of the word *Sīkharāṇḍava*, the food article, which caused Buddha's death. But there seems to be greater likelihood that it was a fungus liable to poison the human body than bear's flesh.

(A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXIII).

² सेभिकसु च सेजं मेसं न मच्छं व भजिज्जमाणं पेहाए तिल्लपूयं व याए साए उववत्ति-
ज्जमाणं पेहाए नो सेजं उव संभवित्तु ओ भा सिज्जा नत्तय गिलाण पीसाए ।

Aca. II. 1.3.

साविभाओ अविदल कडाओ अतिरिच्छ च्छिन्नाओ अन्वाच्छिणाओ सरणिवं वा छिन्ना-
दि अणभिवत्त मभाभिवत्तं पेहाए अफसुवं अणे सणज्जति ।

Aca. II. 1.125.

³ उव उल्लं धीयं संसत्तं पाणा निव्वट्ठिया महि ।

दिथा ताई विवज्जेज्जा राओ सत्थं कल्लं चरे ?

एयं च वोसं ददुक्कं नापपुत्तेण भासियं ।

सव्वाहारं न भुंजेति निर्गन्धा राइभोवणं ।

Dasa. VI. 25-26.

⁴ Av. Cu. II. p. 202, Sutra. II. 6.37.42.

⁵ Aca. Ti. II. 1.4.247, c.f. I. 9.274.

Bṛhatk. Bha. 1.12.39, Das v. Su. V. 1.73. Nisi. Cu. 16, p. 1034.

Mahāvīra himself is said to have taken the flesh of a pigeon. (Bhag. XV.)

⁶ This may also have led to a considerable improvement in the preparation of vegetarian dishes.

See B.C. Law, Mahāvīra, p. 55.

⁷ Vin. Mv. IV. 17, J. I. 154, 334.

small bees, of big bees and of a third variety called *Kaṭṭiya*.¹ But sugarcane was the most important source of sweet ingredients.² Juice of sugarcane was also extracted with a machine and was used in plenty.³ Puṇḍravardhana was noted for its sugarcane crop.⁴ We learn that flour and ashes of dried sugarcane were used in preparing *gūḍa* from the juice of sugarcane.⁵ It was so important an article of food that even the Buddha included it among the food articles which he allowed to his followers.⁶ *Phāṇita* and sugar were other important products of sugarcane which were in common use.⁷ Sugarcandy (*Maṣyaṇḍikā*) is also mentioned in the Jain canon.⁸

¹ Av. Cu. II. 319, Acc. II. 14, Uttara. XIX. 70.

² Vin. IV., Anguttara. III. 76, IV. 179, Milind. 46, Dhamma Ti. IV. 199, Petavatthu Ti. 124, J. I. 339, IV. 174, 466, Uttara. Ti. II, p. 23.

³ J. I. 339, II. 240, IV. 160-61, VI. 339, Vin. Mv. VI. 35.6, Uttara. XIX. 53, Bṛhatk. Bha. Pi. 377, Bhag. XXI. 3.

⁴ Tāṇḍula Ti., p. 2(4).

There were two kinds of sugarcane *Pamḍra* (pale yellow) and *Kajolā* (dark purple). The former gave its name to Puṇḍradēśa (Bengal to the east of the Ganges) and the latter to Kajolaka (Bengal to the west of the Ganges).

See Arch. Survey of India Report 1879-80, Bihar and Bengal Vol. XV, p. 38, quoted by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 91.

⁵ गुले पिष्टमिच्छि ह्यारिकम्बि पक्खिपन्ते ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 16.7.

J. I. 123, Av. Cu. II. 319, Vin. Mv. VI. 23-27.

Also see Appendix II.

⁶ इमानि खो पञ्च भेसज्जानि सेव्यधीदम् सपिनवनीतम् तेलम् मधु काणितम् भेतज्जानि ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 199.

The Buddha allowed *Gūḍa* to sick persons and water of *Gūḍa* to healthy persons.

Mahavagga (H) VI. 4.6.

Cf. Acc. II. 14.

⁷ *Phāṇita*—See (6) above.

Vin. Mv. VI. 199.

अधम्मिकेसु तेलमधुकाणित्तादीनिपि वनमूतफलाकानि पि अमधुरानि ह्येति निरोजानि ।

J. I. 334.

Cf. Vin. II. 177, Digh. I. 141, Vimāṇa. 35-40, J. I. 340, 386, Acc. II. 14.

Sarkarā

सर्पित्ता सार्धम् सक्खरचुण्णम् यावद्वयम् खादित्वा ।

J. 442.

Cf. J. I. 154, III. 110, IV. 114, 379, V. 384, Naya. XVII. 203, Paṇṇa. XVII. 227.

⁸ जी भिक्षु रण्णो खवियाणं खीरं वा दहि वा नवणियं वा सपि वा गुलं वा खंडं वा सकरं वा मण्डियं वा अण्णतरं वा भोक्कणं जायं पडिग्गहेइ ।

Nisi. VIII. 18.

Cf. Naya. XVII. 203, Paṇṇa. XVII. 227.

Of the sweet preparations sweet fried rice (*Madbulāja*) and sweet balls (*Madhugolaka* or *Modaka*) were in common use.¹ In the Jain works we come across some fine sweets such as *Maṇḍaka* (cakes stuffed with molasses and ghee), *Madhustirjaka* (also a kind of sweet cake), *Gulalāvaṇiya*, *Ghṛapanna* (the modern *ghevara*), *Sibakessara* and *Moraṇḍaka* (sweets prepared from inspissated milk and shaped like the eggs of peacock)². Some of these may however, be later preparations as they are not mentioned in the early Jain canon nor in the contemporary Brahmanical or Buddhist literature.

SALTS, SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

The Vinaya Piṭaka mentions five varieties of salts—sea salt, black salt, rock salt, kitchen salt and red salt.³ Sea salt was prepared by boiling sea water.⁴ The Jain works mention two other varieties—*Samvācala* and *Pāṇisukṣāra* (earth salt).⁵ Other spices used in seasoning food were pepper, long pepper, cumin, asafoetida, myrobalan, dry ginger and turmeric.⁶ Mus-

¹ *Madbulāja*—See p. 59, f. n. 6 above.

Madhugolaka—Vin. Mv. I. 43, VI. 25.3.

² *Maṇḍaka*—Nisī Cu. II, p. 693.

Madhustirjaka—Mṛak. 48.8.

Gulalāvaṇiya—Golpāpadī in Gujratī.

(see J.C. Jain, p. 123).

Ghṛapanna—

घयपुण्णेहि खंडलज्जेहि वा अवसेसं भक्तवविहि पचकखाति ।

Uva. I. 34.

Sibakessara—Antagadodasao, p. 10.

Moraṇḍaka—Bhask. Bha. I. 3181.

³ Vin. Mv. VI. 8.

⁴ *Loṇakāra*—J. VI. 206.

Storing salt in a horn vessel was not permissible.

Vin. Culla. XII. 1.1.

⁵ *Daśavaikalika*. So. III. 2.

⁶ Long pepper (*pippali*).

पिप्पलि वा, पिप्पलिवृण्णवा, मिरियं वा, मिरियवृक्षं वा सिमबेरं वा, सिमबेरवृक्षं वा पडिगाहिज्जा ।

Aca. 602.

Cf. Vin. Mv. VI. 6, J. I. 325, Jiva. III. 37.

Pepper (*marica*)

तण्डुलसुप्पिदधिजीरकमरिचादीनि आहारोपेत्वा ।

J. 277.

तं परिवारेत्वा हरीतकी आमलकी मरिचगच्छो च अहोसि ।

J. 312.

J. 325, 455, 512, 277, Vin. I. 201, Vin. Mv. VI. 6, Aca. II. 1.3, 268.

tard and cloves were also used.¹ Some condiments were also used as the word *Vyāñjana* is frequently mentioned.² A dish prepared with fruits is called *Śāḍava* in the Vinaya Piṭaka.³ Vinegar and sour gruel were in common use.⁴ Some delicacies of food were taken after the meals and are called *Uttaribbhaṅga*.⁵

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Of the oilseeds sesamum was the most important article of food.⁶ Cakes of *tila* seed (*Saṅkuli*) were very much liked.⁷ Some of the monks were so fond of cakes prepared with sesamum that once a Buddhist monk specially requested a householdet for it and had to express his regret for doing so in the assembly of monks.⁸ Sesamum powder and sesamum *Parpatas* were also

Cumin (*Jiraka*)—

सिगिवेर जीरकादीनि पित्तिखा ।

J. I. 274.

J. I. 244, 274, 42, II. 363, 225, V. 12, VI. 336, Pinda Nir. 54.

Dryginger (*Syāgavara*)—

अनुजानामि भिक्षवे मूलानि नैसज्जानि हलिदम् सिगिवेरम् वचम् वचत्यम् अतिविसम्
कटुकरोहिणिम् उत्तारम् भद्दमुत्तकम् ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 201.

J. I. 274, 373, 42, Vin. Mv. VI. 3, Bhag. VIII. 3, Panna. I. 23-31, 43-44.

Asafoetida (*Hiṅgu*)—Vin. Mv. VI. 7, Vin. I. 201.

Turmeric (*Haridra*)—Vin. Mv. VI. 3, Vin. I. 201, Anguttara. III. 230,

233, J. V. 89, Majjhima I. 127, Samyutta. II. 101, Pinda Nir. 54.

¹ Mustard (*Sarapa*)

भक्षकास्को वेगेन गत्वा अल्लसिगिवेरञ्च सिद्धाश्वकै च पित्तिखा पुति
तक्केन मदित्वा ।

J. 375.

Aca. II. 1.8.268.

Cloves (*Lavanaṅga*)—Pinda Nir. 54.

² Vin. Mv. VI. 33, 17, Vin. Culla. VI. 4.1, VIII. 4.3, Anguttara. III. 49, Vin. II. 214, J. 42, 212.

³ Vin. IV. 2.19.

⁴ Vinegar (*ambila*)—J. I. 244, 304, II. 163, III. 225, IV. 2.1.

Sourgruel (*Kāṇḍika*)—Vin. I. 203. It is also called *Saṅtraka*, Vin. 1. 210, Samyutta II. 3, J. 254, J. 42.

उदरप्राज्ञा नाथो होति सो क्षीण सोवीरकम् क्षपायि ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 16.3.

⁵ Vin. II. 214, III. 160, IV. 259, Culla (H) IV. 2.1, VIII. 2.2.

⁶ Vin. Mv. VI. 16.33, Samyutta. I 17c, Anguttara I. 130, IV. 108, J. 167, 195, 423, II. 248-49, 301, 325, III. 423, 503, 537, 33, VI. 325, J. 546, Vin. Mv. VI. 34, Culla. IV. 45, I. 183, Thera Ga. I. 927, Bhāṭṭk. II. 1, Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II.2, Nisī. III. 18, Bhāṭṭk. Bha. I. 828, Panna. I. 23-40, Aca. II. 1.527.

⁷ Culla. I. 183, J. 546. Dhanuṃpada Ti. II. 7.5, Aca. I. 15. 132.

⁸ Culla. I. 183.

used.¹ Sesamum oil was used by poor people.² Mustard and its powder were also used.³ Its oil may also have been used. Oil was also extracted from castor seed, linseed and safflower.⁴ Oil cake was also used as a food article by some ascetics.⁵ Besides vegetable oils, animal fats were also used as food. The Buddha himself allowed to the monks the use of the fats of a bear, a fish, an alligator, a pig and an ass in case of illness.⁶

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

The Buddha allowed his followers to eat fruits and appointed a distributor of fruits.⁷ Four methods of ripening green fruit, described in Jain canon, were covering them with straw, heating them, mixing them with ripe fruit and allowing them to ripen on the tree.⁸

Some of the common fruits were jujube, mango, rose apple, bread fruit, *Srigāṭaka* (*trapabispinosa*), *Āmalaka* (emblic myrobalan), plantain, cocoanut, dates, *Bilva*, palm fruit, *Priyāla*, *Kapitttha*, *Tinduka* (*Disspyros Embryopletres*), grapes, *Parīṣaka*, *Karamarda* (*carissa carandas* Lim.) and citrus.⁹

¹ *Tilapipṭha* and *Tilapappada*—Aca. II. 1.527.

² Culla. IV. 45., J. I. 340, 325, Vin. Mv. VI. 16, VI. 34.21.

³ *Sarṣapa* Suttanipāṭa 625, 631, p. 122, Dhamma. I. 93. Samyutta II. 137, J. VI. 174, 536.

Sarṣapakupṭa—Vin. I. 205, II. 131.

⁴ *Eranda* (castor seed) J. I. 109, 423, II. 44, V. 354, 417, VI. 529.

Ataṇṭ (Linseed)—Bhag. XXI.

Kusumbha (Safflower)—J.-C. Jain, p. 91.

⁵ S.B.B. V., p. 10 (*Kassapasihanādasutta*).

⁶ अनुजानामि भिक्षवे वसानि भेसज्जानि अन्नवसम् मच्छवसम्, सुसांवासम्, सुकरवसम्, गदम वसम्।

Vin. Mv. VI. 1.2.

⁷ अनुजानामि भिक्षवे अदीजं निव्वतवीजं अकतकम्पं फलं परिमुञ्चिस्सुम्।

Vin. Mv. VI. 21.

The Buddha allowed five kinds of fruits e.g. mango fruits the skin of which had been removed by fire, of which the skin had been removed with a knife or nails, one without a kernal stone, and one having a kernal stone.

Culla. V. 7.3.

Culla. (H) VI. 6.7.

⁸ Jagdish Chandra Jain, p. 93.

⁹ Jujube—J. II. 260, 547, S.B.B. V. 56

Mango—

अम्बवन्तेन एव अम्बवन्तम्, जम्बुवन्तेन जम्बुवन्तम्, लज्जवन्तेन एव लज्जवन्तम्, नालिकेरसज्जवन्तेन नालिकेरसज्जवन्तम्।

We know from the Buddhist works that vegetables were

तस्मिन् पत्र दीपके सवज्जातानि तासिउच्छुकदतिअम्बजम्बूपनसनालिकेरादीनि विविधानि फलाफलानि अस्ति ।

J. 466.

अंससरदुयं वा, कविट्ठसरदुयं वा, दाडिमसरदुयं वा, बिल्लितसरदुयं वा
पडिगाहिज्जा ।

Aca. 605.

J. I. 54, 124, 344, 186, 255, 545, III. 98, IV. 264, 265, Das. Bra. J. 495, Panna. I. 23. 12. 7, Aca. II. 1. 82. 66, Tha. X. 736, Raya. III. 12.

Rose Apple (*Jambū*)—J. 124, 294, 336, 541, IV. 345, VI. 529, Dada Bra. J. 495, Panna. I. 1-3.

Panasa (Bread fruit)—J. 57, 123, 466, 450, II. 160, V. 46, J. 547, Panna. I. 23. 12. 7, Aca. II. 1. 8. 266, Tha. X. 736.

अम्बा कपित्था पनसा साला जम्बू विभीतका हरीतका आमलका असरथा बदरानि च चारुतिम्ब वक्का च एत्थ निप्रोधा च कपित्थना मधु मधुका येवन्ति नीचे पक्कना च उदुम्बरा मुट्ठिका च मधुत्थिका मधु मनेलकम् दोविला भेकवण्णा तद्भयम् विभेदिका नालिकेरा खण्णुरी-
नाम् बहवने ।

J. 547.

Sringataka (*Trapa bispinosa*)

उच्छु मेरयं वा अकं करेलुयं वा कसेरयं वा सिग्घाडयं वा पूति आलुगं वा,
पडिगाहिज्जा ।

Aca. II. 3. 3. 350.

Amalaka (*emblic myrobalan*)—J. I. 450, II. 160, V. 465, J. 495, 512, Vin. Mv. I. 20. 10, Vin. I. 201, 278, Panna. I. 23. 12-17, Aca. II. 1. 8. 266, Tha. X. 736.

Kadalī (*plantain*)—J. 466, 514, Panna. I. 23. 12-17, Aca. II. 1. 8. 266, Tha. X. 736.

Coccanut (*Nālikerā*)—J. 466, 514, 537, 547, Sutta. I. 44.

Dates (*Kharjūra*)—J. 547.

Bilva—J. I. 306, 495, VI. 578, Samyutta. I. 150, Sutta. N. 125, Angu-
tara. IV. 170, Apādāna III. 346.

Palm fruit (*Tala*)—J. 160, IV. 158.

Przyślo—J. 495.

तिण्डुकानि पियालानि मधुके कामुमारियो ।

फलानि खट्ठकण्णानि भुञ्ज राजा वरम् वरम् ।

J. 503.

Tinduka—J. 177, 495, 541, II. 53, IV. 270, V. 58, Digh. I. 178, V. 99, Aca. 615.

See above. J. 503.

Grapes (*Draṅkapa*)—J. 547, 183.

Parāṣaka—Vin. I. 246, J. VI. 278.

Karamarda—J. 415, VI. 536.

Citrus (*Mātulīṅga*)

कविट्ठं सार्वतिगं च मूलगं मूल गतिप । २५ ।

तद्देव फलमयूणि बीयमयूणि जाणिया ।

विहलणं पियालं च भासगं परिवज्जए । २६ ।

Daśavalkālika V. 2. 25-26.

sold at the gates of Uttara Pāncāla.¹ The Buddha himself allowed leafy vegetables to his followers.² Stalks and roots of lotus, long bottle gourd, brinjal, cucumber, radish, catmint and mustard stalks were eaten as vegetables.³ The use of garlic and leeks is prohibited because the foul smell deprived the eater of garlic of the company of others. But the Buddhist monks were allowed to use it in case of illness.⁴

Some other fruits are mentioned.

Cf. Panna. I. 1-3.

Nyagrodha—J. I. 298, 324.

Kālmārja—J. 303, 340.

Lakusa—J. 497.

Amrātaka—J. II. 111, Apādāna. II. 346, Panna. I. 1-3.

Kapittha (wood apple)—J. I. 298, VI. 350, 353, J. 347, 329.

Udumbara—Digh. II. 4, IV. 35, Aṅguttara IV. 283, J. I. 298, III. 73, 294, VI. 174, 329, 251.

Pomegranate (*Dādima*)—Panna. I. 1-3, Aca. 605.

¹ J. I. 139.

² *Mahāvagga*. (H) VI. 6.8, Vin. Mv. VI. 35.

³ Stalks of lotus (*Bisa*)—Aca. II. 1.7.

Roots of lotus (*Sālikha*)—Aca. II. 1.7, J.I. 79, 96, Vin. I. 246, J. VI. 363.

Mustard stalks—Aca. II. 1.7.

Long bottle gourd (*śalākā*)—J. I. 3, 12, IV. 443, V. 37 VI. 378, Sutra. I. 4.4., Naya. XVI. 163, Uttara Ti. V. 103.

Brinjal—Panna. I. 23, 18-19, 26, 37, 38, 43, Bhag. XXI. 7, Uttara XXXVI. 96, Aca. II. 3.3-350, J. V. 37.

Cucumber—Panna. I. 23, 18-19, 26, 37, 38, 43, Uttara XXXVI. 96.

Radish—*Ibid.*

Catmint (*Biplāk*)

अथन्तं शलुकं कलम्बानि विदालि तक्कलानि बुधम् सावाकनीवारम् संघारिणम् पक्षारिणम्
साकं चित्तं मधु मांसं बवरामलकानि च तानि आमरुवा भुञ्जामि अरिण मे सो परिणहो ।

J. 496.

Other vegetables used as food were *Piṇḍāka*, *Aluka*, *Blāṅka* (convolvulus), *Kadamba* (convolvulus repens), *Bidarikanda*, *Kāraṇḍīya*, *Pālaka*, *Svastika* and *Mandūkī*. The last three are leafy vegetables.

Panna. I. 23, 18-19, 26, 37, 38, 43, Uttara XXXVI. 96.

वत्सु साएण वा, सुत्थिय साएण वा मंडूकिय साएण वा अबसेसं सागविहिं पच्चक्खति ।

Uva. I. 38.

पालुका माधुर एणं अबसेसं माधुरय विहिं पच्चक्खति ।

Uva. I. 39.

⁴ Some Buddhist nuns are said to have pulled out practically all the onions from a field. This shows that some of them were very fond of onions.

(J. 136.)

Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha. Pacittiya (H) 4.7., Culla. (H) V. 6.4.

Garlic (*lasuna*)

या पन भिक्खुनी ललुणम् खादेय पाचित्तिवम् ।

Vin. IV. 259.

Vin. II. 140, IV. 258, Culla. V. 6.4., Aca. II. 3.3-350.

Leeks—Vin. IV. 259.

INTOXICATING DRINKS

From the Buddhist and Jain works we learn that liquor was manufactured and consumed on a large scale.¹ Taverns and drinking shops are frequently mentioned.² At the time of festivals, feasting and drinking were resorted to and friends were invited.³ It is stated that Caṇḍa Pajjota drank for three days continuously when Vatsarāja Udayana was brought alive.⁴ Jain sources also mention drinking to excess. King Duvaya is said to have entertained the members of a marriage party with many kinds of liquors and wines.⁵ From the Jātakas we learn that even women and hermits drank hard on some occasions.⁶

But people were well acquainted with the evils of drinking.⁷ The princes of Baravai, it is stated, were ruined because they were addicted to drinking Kādambatī wine.⁸ Even dealing in strong liquors is forbidden.⁹ The Buddha and Mahāvīra did not allow their followers especially monks indulgence in wines.¹⁰ The Jain canon does not even permit monks to reside at a place

¹ J. I. 116, 251, 268, V. 12, VI. 328, J. 545, VI. 505, Brhāt. I. 2.4. Uttara XIX. 70, Bhag. V. 2.8, Vipaka. II. 19, Nist. Ca. I. 511.

² J. I. 116, 251, 268, VI. 328, 545.

³ Flags were used to distinguish liquor shops from other shops. Brhāt. Bhā. II. 35.59.

⁴ J. 142, I. 362, II. 240, VI. 161, J. 545, VI. 258.

⁵ Dhammapada Atthakathā. I. 193.

⁶ Naya. 16, p. 179.

⁷ Surāpāna. J. 81, J. 512.

⁸ Surāpāna. J., Kumbha. J.

⁹ Uttara. Th. 2, p. 362.

¹⁰ Anguttara. III. 208.

¹¹ सुरमेरखपालञ्च यो नरो अनुयुञ्जति।

इधेवमेसो लोकस्मिं मूलं छनति अलनो।

Dhammapada, p. 247.

सुरमेरखपाने पादित्थियन्ति।

Bhikkhu Patimokkha. V. 31.

C.f. Vin. Mv. I.56, Anguttara III. 770.

सुहं पिवा सुरा सीह मेर आस महणिय।

पक्खिओमि उलं तीयो वसा हहिराणि च।

Uttara. XIX. 71.

हिंसे बाले मुस। वाई माइले पिसुणे सडे।

भुंजमाणे सुरं मंछं सेय मेयं निमज्जई।

Uttara. V. 9.

जे मज्ज मंस लमणं च भोज्जा। यनत्थ वासं परिकल्पयंति।

Sutra. I. 7.13.

C.f. Jiva. III. 37, Naya. XVI. 105.

where jars of wine are stored.¹ But both the followers of the Buddha and Mahāvīra were allowed to use wine in cases of illness.²

Strong liquors are called *Madya* but the general word for all kinds of intoxicating drinks prepared from cereals is *Surā*.³ The Vinaya, mentions five kinds of *surā*—prepared from rice meal, from cakes, from boiled rice, from ferment and with spices.⁴ *Maireya* (spiced wine) seems to be very popular at this time.⁵ *Vāruṇī* (a strong liquor), the wine prepared from *Madhuka* flowers (*Basia Latifolia*), *Prasannā* (a variety of *surā*) and *Sidhu* (prepared with the juice of sugarcane) were other intoxicating drinks in use.⁶ From the Jain canon we learn that liquors prepared from palm fruit, *Jāti* flowers, *Kadamba* fruit were also used.⁷ A

¹ Bṛahmk. IX. 17.

² Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 1.16, Bṛahmk. Bha. II. 3413, Naya. V. 80.

³ Patimokkha. 21, Dhammapada 247, J. 466, Naya XVI. 179.

⁴ सुरा नाम पिठसुरा, पूवसुरा, सोदनसुरा, किण्णपक्खिता, संभारसंयुता मेरेयं नाम पुष्पासव फलासवो मध्यासवो गुडासवो संभार संयुतो।

Vin. IV. 110.

⁵ नो सुरा उच्छुरसेन मेरयन् कृत्वा पिबिस्साम।

J. 466.

C.f. Dhammapada. 247, Patimokkha. 31.

See Ch. IV. for the preparation of *Maireya*.

सुरं च महुं च मेयरं च जाइं च सिधुं च पण्णं च।

Vipaka. para. 40.

सुरा मेरय पानञ्च दो नरो अनुवुञ्जति।

इधेवमेतो लोकास्मिं मूलं खनति अतनो।

Dhammapada. 247.

सुरं वा मेरयं वा वि अन्नं वा मज्जनं रत्तम्।

स तप्पसं न पिबे भिक्खू यसं सारस्स मप्पणो।

Daśavaikālika. V. 238.

⁶ *Vāruṇī*—

वा तालसर्जूरसै मायुता वा हि वाचणी।

Dravya Guṇa Vijñāna. II, p. 33.

J. I. 47, Jiva. III. 37.

Mādhavī (from *Madhuka* flowers)—Av. Cu. II. 171.

Prasannā—for preparation see Ch. IV.

Naya. XVI. 103, Vipak. para. 40.

Sidhu (distilled from juice of sugarcane) Uttara. XIX. 70, Naya. XVI. 103, Vipak. para. 40.

⁷ *Tālaka* (a wine prepared from the palm fruit), Jambū, XX. 99, Jiva. III. 264, Panna. XVII. 364.

Jāti (an intoxicating drink from *Jāti* flowers) Vipaka. II. 19.

Kādambā (distilled from ripe kadamba fruit) Uttaradhyayana. Ti. II. 36.

strong intoxicating drink which did not lose its true nature even when diluted a hundred times, is called *Sataṃ*.¹ Some other varieties are also mentioned.²

DRINKING WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Cool water brought from mountain springs was used for drinking purposes.³ Buddhists used eight kinds of strainers to purify drinking water as they were not allowed to drink water full of insects.⁴ The Jains regard rainwater as the best⁵ but water of springs, frost, wells, tanks and dewdrops was also used for drinking.⁶

In this period many syrups were prepared from fruits etc. The Buddha allowed eight kinds of beverages to his followers. Syrups were prepared with ripe mango juice, rose apple, plantain fruit, grapes, edible root of waterlily, honey, *Parīṣaka* fruit and coconut.⁷ Sometimes syrups prepared with *guda* and

बहुं नद्यं शोचवाणं सोत्तेहिय, तल्लि हिय, भञ्जिह हिय, परिमुक्केहिय,
तावण्हियं सुरं च महुं च मेयरं च जाहं च तिधुं च पसणं च ।

Vipakā. para. 40.

¹ J. C. Jain, p. 125. Jambu. 20, p. 99 fr. Jiva 3, pp. 264a f.

Panna. 17, p. 364 f.

² *Candraprabhā, Maṇḍilāka, Rīṣabha, Jambūphala, Kālikā, Dugdhajell, Mṛdūkāsāra, Vamśī, Savira, Kharjūrasāra and Śapākakṣurasa.*

(J. C. Jain, p. 125).

³ अस्मि मे पानीचम् सीतम् शश्वतम् गिरिशम्भरा ।

ततो पिब महाराज स च त्वं श्रविहृषसीसि ।

J. 540.

⁴ Bhikkhu Patimokkha (H) V. 20 and 62.

The Buddha also allowed the use of some stands made of wood, stone or bricks for keeping water jars.

Culla. (H) V. 2.4.

यो परं त्रिकम् जलम् सत्पाणकम् उदकम् परिमुञ्जेय्य पाचित्तियम् ।

Pac. XX. 62.

Of the eight kinds of strainers the *Daṇḍa parisavāna* was a long box, both ends of which strained water which was poured into the centre by means of a pipe. The other strainers were a filter with four pipes (*Offhanikā*), regulation water pots (*dharmavakarakā*), corner of the upper robe, cross seams, short cross seams, circular seams, and short circular seams. (Vin. III. 102, III. 177, 302, Culla. XIII. 2., Vin. Mv. VIII.).

⁵ अंतलिखसोदणं भवसेतं पाणिनिहि पचचक्षति ।

Uva. I. 43.

⁶ Acc. I. 13. 108.

⁷ अमृजानामि मिक्खवे मट्ठ पाणानि : अम्बुपानम् चोचपानम् मोचपानम् मधुपानम् मुट्ठिकापानम् साखुक्कपानम् फाहसकपानम् ।

Vin. I. 246.

sugar were also used.¹ All these beverages were used in the evening as the followers of the Buddha did not take their meals in the evening.² The Jain works mention some other syrups such as those prepared from dates, pomegranates, green bamboos, jujube, myrobalans and tamarind.³

The Jain monks were not permitted to drink water used for washing rice, sesamum, chaff, or barley as also that used for preparing dough. Sour gruel was also not allowed to them.⁴

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The Buddhists, generally had a separate dining room and a store house for food stuffs.⁵ Food was also available on the shops in the market.⁶ The rich no doubt had their expert cooks. The Buddha appointed a separate officer to distribute food.⁷ The art of cooking was so developed that it is considered one of the twenty five prominent occupations of the period.⁸ Eighteen kinds of solid foods are referred to in a Jātaka,⁹ and the process of flavouring cooked preparations with cummin and asafoetida (*Dhāpāna*) was well known.¹⁰ The Jain sources mention eighteen kinds of seasoned foods (*Vyañjana*)¹¹ and a number of

¹ *Guṇḍaka*—Vin. Mv. VI. 27.

Sakkharapaṇṇaka

राजा अम्हानं तच्चं अपनेत्वा सबन्नं पक्खमित्वा सवम एव महित्वा येरस्स पत्तम् पूरेत्वा अदासि।

C.f. J. 476.

J. I. 281.

² Vin. Mv. VI. 6.6, Digh. Part. I. p. 3, (Bhāgavata).

³ अंबापाणनं वा, अंबाडगपाणनं वा, कविट्ठपाणनं वा, मार्जसिगपाणनं वा, मुहिसापाणनं वा, दाडिमपाणनं वा, खजूरपाणनं वा, गालिएरपाणनं वा, करीरपाणनं वा, घामसगपाणनं वा, चिचापाणनं वा, सणवरं वा तद्धव्यारंपाणनञ्चायं सकण्णमं . . . पडि माहिज्जा।

Acc. I. 399.

⁴ से भिक्खू वा जाव समणं के जं पुण पाणनं आमं जाणिज्जा, तं जह्वा तिलोदगं वा, कुसोदगं वा, जसोदगं वा, आयामं वा, सोवीरं वा, मुद्धवियवं वा, यस्सिं सल्ल पडिगाहिज्जा यंस्सि अण्ये पन्ना कम्म्ये तद्देव पडिगाहिज्जा।

Acc. I. 642.

⁵ *Upasāhānālā* (a dining room)—Call. Samsarakkhandhva VI.

Kappabhūmi (a store house)—J. 545.

⁶ *Odaniyaggha* (shop of a cook)—J. 343, J. III. 287, V. 290, VI. 276, V. 170.

⁷ *Khajjabbhājaka* (a distributor of food)—Vin. II. 176, III. 38, 155.

⁸ *Ajātadatt* mentioned it to the Buddha.

⁹ J. 26, J. I., p. 185.

¹⁰ *Dhāpita*. (Vv. 43.)

¹¹ The eighteen kinds of *Vyañjana* are :—

1. *Jāpa* (pulse soup), 2. *Oduna* (boiled rice), 3-5. Three kinds of meat. 6. Cow's milk. 7. *Jūsa* (water of boiled pulses), 8. *Bhakkha* sweets, 9. *Gulālāvaṇiṇa* (*gul pāpādi* etc.), 10. *Mālapphala* (bread fruit), 11. *Hari-*

sweets such as *ghṛtapūra*, *khaṇḍakas* and *Maṇḍakas*¹ and saline preparations such as small round balls prepared with pulses and *parpatas*.² The preparation of all these delicacies shows a high stage of development in the culinary art.

Buddhist monks generally used utensils made of copper, wood or clay.³ Utensils made of gold, silver and precious stones were used only by the rich, while the common people used copper, wooden, or skin vessels and the poor used only leaf pots and earthenware.⁴ When earthen vessels were broken the Buddhist monks were allowed water vessels of three kinds—brass pots, wooden pots and skins.⁵ In the Cullavagga it is considered improper to store salt in a horn vessel because by keeping salt in a hollow horn the Buddhist monks acquired a possession.⁶

The common implements used by the Buddhist monks were a water jar, a drinking cup, a water bag, a basket, a cooking pot and a pan.⁷ A round tub like vessel for keeping soft food

yāga (Cumin), 12. *Sāga* (vegetables), 13. *Rasūla* (*Sikhariṇī*) 14. *Pāna* (drinks)
15. *Pāniya* (water), 16. *Pānaka* (beverages), 17. *Sāga* (*dabībārā*)
Tha. III. 135.

J. C. Jain, p. 123.

Cooked food is classified into four categories—well dressed food in general (*Jakṛāṇa*), well cooked food (*ṇapakaṇa*) such as *Ghṛtapūra*, flavoured food (*Sabbṛāṇa*) such as soup and *Yavāga* and much sweetened food such as *Maṇḍakas*.

¹ See p. 60, f. n. 4, p. 69, f. n. (1) and (2) above.

² See p. 62, f. n. 2.

³ Culla. (H) V. 1.10., Culla. (H) V. 74.

⁴ कञ्चन तट्टके यद्युल्लिखितं तस्मिन्नेवोक्तं दधिपत्रा ।

J. 476.

Culla. (H) V. 1.10, c.f. Naya. Ti. I. 42(a) I. 26.

Culla. V. 16, Uva. XXXVIII. 173.

Pannapāṭa (leaf pots)—J. I. 415.

Eighteen kinds of utensils—such as those made of iron, copper, lead, bronze, silver, gold, precious stones, ivory, horns, cloth, leather, stone and conchshell are mentioned in Nisi. IX. 1.

⁵ Culla. V. 16.2.

⁶ Culla. XII. 1.1.

⁷ *Bhāgāra* (water jar)—Digh. II. 172, Anguttara. IV. 210, J. I. 466, Uva. XXXVIII. 173.

Saraka (drinking cup)—J. I. 157, 266, J. 125.

Thānika (a water bag)—Culla. V. 9. 1-4.

Piṭṭaka (a basket)—Vin. Mv. VI. 25.

Kumbhi (a cooking pot)—Vin. Mv. VI. 25, Ghaṭikārasutta. 81.

Tappaka (a dish)—J. 476.

Pariyoga (a dish)—Ghaṭikārasutta. 81.

Kadapiya (a pan)—J. 268.

was called *Ālindā* and a basket for keeping solid food *gopīṭaka*.¹ A cover for alms bowl was called *Pīṇḍopadhāna*.² In the Jain works we also have such implements as a knife, a sieve, a mortar, big and small jars, kettle for cooking, tumbler and jars having necks like that of a camel.³ The earliest reference to a spittoon is found in the Mahāvagga of the Vinayapīṭaka.⁴

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

The Buddhist works lay down hospitality as a duty and state that alms giving cleanses the mind from the dirt of the sins of selfishness and cupidity.⁵ Wherever the Buddha went the laity were anxious to feed the whole order.⁶ The Jains clearly advocate that even a *Cāṇḍāla* guest should be fed with honour.⁷

Both the Buddhists and the Jains were very particular about the purity of food. The Buddha allowed food to his followers only when they had cleaned their teeth with a tooth stick.⁸ They are not permitted to drink water before it is cleaned by a strainer.⁹ The Jains were not expected to take any fruit or

¹ *Ālindā*—Vin. Mv. III. 15.9, Uva. VII. 4.

Gopīṭaka—Vin. Mv. III. 15.9.

² M.S.V. I. 84.2.

³ *Sattva* (a knife)—Sutra, I. 4.10.

Suṇḍant (a kettle for cooking)—Sutra, I. 4.12.

Khataga (a sieve)—Ibid.

Kharagāṇa (a mortar)—Ibid.

The Uva. VII. 4 mentions *Karas* (small jars), *Varas* (big jars), *piṇḍas* (cooking pots), *ghaṇas* (water jars), *Adhaghaṇas* (half water jars), *Kolasas* (jars), *Alinjara*, *Jamāna* (tumblers), *Uttāḍiya* (jars having necks like those of camels).

⁴ Vinayapīṭaka Ed. by H. Oldenberg 1879, Vol. I, p. 271.

Also see 'History of the Spittoon in India' by Dr. P. K. Gode, A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXVI, Parts III & IV, pp. 204-214.

⁵ S.B.B. I. 3, XIII. 38.

⁶ Digh. (H) 30 Lakkhaṇa Sutta.

Generally the invitation to Bhikkhus was issued on the previous day, Majjhima (H) 55.

Supriyā, a follower of the Buddha, is said to have cut off the flesh of her own thigh to save the life of an ailing Bhikkhu when it could not be had it being a holiday in the meat market in Banaras. This shows that the spirit of hospitality had become a part and parcel of Indian social life.

पौष्यनिकं गृहेषु उह मांसम् उक्कन्धित्वा दासिया प्रदासि।

Vin. Mv. VI. 13.3.

⁷ Uttara. XII.

⁸ Culla. V. 5. (Hindi).

⁹ See p. 76, f. n. (4) above, Pac. XX. 62.

vegetable before they had fully satisfied themselves that it did not contain any living being.¹ For the same reason eating food at night is condemned.² Both the Jains and the Buddhists did not believe that food was defiled by the touch of a person if he was born in a low caste.³ Whosoever be the giver they were expected to accept and eat their food with respect,⁴ even if it be coarse food.⁵

The Buddha laid great emphasis on eating food obtained by lawful means. According to him the leavings of a householder or a dog were better than food obtained by unlawful means.⁶ A monk was not allowed to dine with the order if he committed a sin.⁷ We learn from the Jātakas that Brāhmaṇas had no objection to taking food with Kṣatriyas but they generally avoided the leavings of others and if they did not do so they were excommunicated.⁸ A Brāhmaṇa repents for eating the food of a Cāṇḍāla,⁹ and a Kṣatriya refuses to dine with his own daughter because she was born of a Sūdra wife.¹⁰ Brāhmaṇas are excommunicated for using water mixed with the rice which the Cāṇḍāla had used.¹¹ In the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra there is a story stating that Brāhmaṇas refused to give food to a Cāṇḍāla ascetic.¹²

The Buddha laid down several rules to see that his followers practised moderation in food. They were not allowed to take midday meal in the afternoon.¹³ No monk was allowed to take

¹ Nisi. IV. 27.

² See p. 67, f. n. 3 above.

³ See p. 79, f. n. 8 above.

⁴ Bhikkhu Patimokkha. VII. 27, 31, Bhikkhu Patimokkha. (H) VI. 27 and 31.

⁵ Bhikkhuni Patimokkha. IV. 30.

⁶ न चापि मे सीवाली सो अमस्वो

य होति वरम् गिहितो सुत सस्स वा

ये के चि भोगा इय भम लद्धा

सन्वो भक्त्तो अनवज्जोति वुत्तोति ।

⁷ Culla. I. 5.6.

⁸ J. II. 319-20, J. 179, IV. 388.

⁹ J. II. 82.

¹⁰ J. IV. 144.

¹¹ J. IV. 388.

¹² Uttara. XII.

¹³ Culla. XII. 1.1, S.B.B. V. p. 333, Bhikkhu Patimokkha., Mahavagga (H) VI. 6.12.

quantity of food more than what was necessary to sustain life.¹ They were not allowed to store food in ordinary times.² But some food stuffs, which were given to the convalescent monks as tonics such as ghee, butter, honey, oil and sugar, could be preserved for a week.³ At a time the monk could not accept more than three bowls of food.⁴ The Jains also insist on eating as much food as is necessary to sustain life,⁵ and believe that the body is purified by keeping fasts.⁶

Some idea of the food of children can be had from a Jātaka.⁷ The food of the students consisted chiefly of rice and rice gruel. On being invited to dinners, however, they were served with sugar, jaggery, curds and milk.⁸ They were expected to avoid rich food (*Prāṇita*) as it did not suit their stage in life. They are advised to be moderate in eating and drinking.⁹

¹ Bhikkhu Patimokkha (H) V. 35-37., Majjhima (H) 39. (Mahaassapura).

² Bhikkhu Patimokkha (H) V. 38., Mahavagga (H) VI. 5.1, Majjhima (H) 33.

³ Mahavagga. VI. 3.4.

C.f. चउव्विहे वि आहारे राई भोयण वज्जणा।

सन्निही संचओ चेष, वज्जे यव्वो सुदुवकरम्।

Uttara. XIX. 30.

⁴ Culla. VII. 3.13, 34, Bhikkhu Patimokkha (H) VII. 29, 30, (H) 36, Bhikkuni Patimokkha (H) VI. 29, 30, 36.

⁵ जहा दबग्गी पउरिण्णणे वणे समासओ नोवसमं उवेइ।

एविन्दियग्गी विपयाम भोइणो न बंभयारिरस हियाय कत्तई।

Uttara XXXII. 11.

Uttara. I. 32.

अन्नाय उंछं चरइ विमुद्धं जवणट्ठया समुयाणं च निण्णं।

अलद्धुयं नो परिदेवएज्जा लद्धं न विकल्पाई स पुज्जो।

Dasa IX. 4. 3.4.

संयार सेज्जा सण भत्त पाणे, अण्णिच्छया अइलामे विसन्ते।

जोएव मण्याणअमितोस एज्जा, संतोस पाह्वए स पुज्जो।

Dasa. IX. 4. 3.5.

⁶ अणसण मूणो यरिया भिक्खायरिया रस परिज्जाओ।

काय किलेसा संतीणयाय बज्जो तवो होई।

Uttara XXX. 8.

⁷ Jātaka VI. 3-6.

⁸ एक दिवसं निमन्तने एकध्वे माण वा गुलम् दधिना भुज्जिणु एक चे खीरेण।

J. I. 123.

⁹ नोपणीयं आहारिता हवइ से निगान्थे तं कह मिति चे ? आयिरियाह-निगान्थ स सल्लु पणीयं आहारं। आहारे माणस्स बम्मयरिस्स बम्मचेरे संका वा कंथा वा विइणिज्जा वा समुप्पज्जिज्जा भेदं वा लभेज्जा उम्मायं वा पाउणिज्जा, दीहकालियं वा रोगा यं कं हवेज्जा के वसि पन्न-

Both the Buddhists and Jains lay emphasis on simplicity of food for monks. The Buddhist monks were advised to avoid a meal to be taken by three persons together (*Tikabbhofana*) as also a group meal (*gabbhofana*) because they might get fond of well cooked and sweet things.¹ The Buddha prescribed that a healthy Bhikkhu should not request a householder to provide such rich food stuffs as ghee, butter, oil, honey, sugar, fish, meat, milk and curds.² The Jain monks were not allowed to take highly nourishing food such as milk, curds, ghee, oil, etc. because such nourishing food makes one overstrong and desires rush upon him as the birds rush upon a tree laden with sweet fruit.³ The Jain monks were expected to visit only those places where coarse food such as *Kulmāsa* was provided.⁴ Jain monks should not take too much interest in the food preparations.⁵

तासो यम्मासो भसेज्जा । तम्हा खलुनो निगन्थे पणीयं आहारं आहारेज्जा ।

Uttara. XVI. 7.

नो अद्दमाथाए पाण भोषणं आहारेत्ता हवइ से निगन्थे ।

Uttara XVI. 8.

¹ Culla. VII. 13.

² Bhikkhupatimokkha (H) V. 39, Bhikkhunipatimokkha V. 5. 222-229.

³ Uttara. XXX. 4.

रसापगमं न नितेवियन्वा, पायं रसा दित्तं करा नराणम्
दित्तं च कामा समभिद्वंति दुमं जहा सल्लफलं च पक्खी ।

Uttara. XXXII. 10.

पणीयं भत्त पाणं तुं सिप्पं मय विवद्वदणं ।
दंभचेर रओ भिक्खु निच्चसो परिवज्जए ।

Uttara. XVI. 7.

⁴ पत्ता णिक्खे सेवेज्जा सीय पिण्डं पुराणं कुम्मासं
अदु नृकसं पुत्तायं वा जवणट्ठाए नितेवए मंथुं ।

Uttara. VIII. 12.

आयामणं चेव जवोदणं च सीयं सीवीर जवोदणं च ।
न इहीए पिण्डं नीरसं तु परिवज्जए स भिक्खु ।

Uttara. XV. 13.

परिवादीए न विद्वद्वेज्जा भिक्खु दत्तेसणं चरे ।
वद्विद्वेण एसिता भियं कालेण भक्खए ।
विभूसा इत्थि संसमो पणीयं रसभोषणं ।
न रसज्जतय वेसिरसं विसं ताल उदं जहा ।

Dasav. VIII. 57.

⁵ मुद्धं सणाए न न्वाणं तस्य ठवेज्ज भिक्खु सप्पाणम् ।
जायाए पाख मेसेज्जा रसगिद्धेन सिया भिक्खाए ।

Uttara. VIII. 11.

खलोलभिक्खु न रसेसु गिद्धं उदं चरे जीविय ताभिकसे ।
द्विद्धं च सक्कारेण पुयणं च चए दिक्खया अग्निं हे जेत भिक्खु ।

Dasav. X. 17.

They were not expected to declare the qualities of food for the same reason.¹ An ideal monk according to the Buddha, does not kill any animal for food, accepts only one course, does not take food at improper times. He does not accept uncooked foodgrains, or meat.² The Buddha did not allow the monks the use of stuffed couches and chairs when taking food.³

It appears that the diet of the Buddhist monks consisted of milk rice in the breakfast, rice and curry at lunch and slight repast consisting of ghee, butter, oil, honey or molasses in the afternoon. They did not eat anything at night.⁴ We learn that other ascetics generally lived on leaves, bulbs, roots such as radish, lotus stalks, fruits such as jujube, myrobalan, honey, wild rice and black mustard.⁵ Some naked ascetics took food in a standing posture, they licked their hands clean and refused to accept any invitations. They abstained from fish, meat and strong drinks and lived on pot herbs, wild rice, leather, paing, *hafa* (a water plant), scum of boiled rice, broken pieces of rice, oil cake, grasses and such fruits as fell from the tree themselves.⁶ But it appears that some ascetics had no objection to taking meat preparations.⁷ Some monks were fond of eating mangoes, some of onions and some others of garlic.⁸ The

¹ सुकडिंति सुक्किंति सुच्छिन्ने सुद्धे मडे ।

सुणिट्ठिर सुलट्ठित्ति सायखं वज्जए मुणी ।

Uttara. I. 36.

² एक भित्तिको समणो गौतमो रत्तु परतो ।

विकालभोजना पटिविरतो समणो गौतमो ।

Digh. Part. I, p. 5 (Bhāgavata)

Digha (H) I. 1, Kalpasutra, V. 8, Culla. VII. 3. 25, 37, Mahavagga. I. 36.

³ Culla. VIII. 5-3, V. 19.

⁴ Mahavagga. I. 25, 8, I. 30. 8, Culla. XII. 2. 8, Lokasa J. 41.

स कथयति भगवन् किमकले कल्पेत् । भगवान् आहृ पृतगुडसर्करापातकानिरेति ।
ततो मेघकेन गृहपतिना बुद्ध प्रमुखो भिक्षु संघोज्जलसायकैः भक्षालयानकैश्च संतपितः ।

Div. 130.2.

⁵ Bhikkhuparāmaṇā J. No. 496, J. I. 251.

⁶ साक भक्ष्वा सामाक भक्ष्वा नीवार भक्ष्वा द्दुदुल भक्ष्वा हृट भक्ष्वा कण भक्ष्वा आचाम भक्ष्वा पिञ्जक भक्ष्वा वन मूल फलाहारो यापे सु पवत्त फल भोजी ।

Digh. I. 166, Kassapaśihanādi Sutta

सेवाज भक्षिणो मूलाहार कन्दाहारा पत्ताहारा तवाहारा पुष्पाहारा फलाहार बीया-
हार ।

Bhagavati XI. 9.6.

⁷ Digh. I. 141, Aupapātika Sūtra.

⁸ Acc. II. 7.

Buddha laid down that not more than three Bhikkhus should visit a house on one day. They should also not visit a house in the afternoon, for it might cause inconvenience to the householder.¹ The Buddhist monks were allowed to take molasses, ghee, butter, oil, honey, fish, flesh, milk and curds but were not allowed to drink *Surā* or *Maireya*.²

The Jains were expected to take their meals at a place which was free from insects and green plants, was covered with some piece of cloth and was surrounded with walls.³ From the *Jātakas* we know that people took food in dining halls and sat on benches while doing so.⁴ Some of them also used cushions.⁵ The Buddha laid down rules of etiquette for the monks. He laid down that while eating, the whole hand should not be thrust into the mouth. A person should not talk with rice in his mouth, eat tossing up balls of food, stuff his cheeks with rice, shake hands, scatter lumps of rice, put out his tongue, make a hissing sound, lick his fingers or bowl or accept a drinking cup with a hand soiled with food.⁶ He also insisted that the same food should be served to all and that even the eldest monk should not begin taking his meal until the cooked rice had been served to all. Eating delicious dishes (*Uttaribhanḡa*) alone was also considered improper.⁷ It was also laid down that the monk who came back first from his round for alms in the village should make preliminary arrangements for the dining of the whole fraternity such as getting ready the seats, water for washing and drinking, towels etc. He, who came last, was to clean the dining room after he had taken his meals.⁸ We also have interesting details about the customs prevalent at that time. In times of scarcity

¹ Culla. VII. 3-13, XII. 1-1, S.B.B. V. p. 333.

² Culla. VII. 3-39, 51, Mahavagga. I. 56.

³ अण्य एण्ये अण्य बीजमि वडिच्छलमि सवुडे ।

समयं संवणं भुञ्जे जयं अपरिसादियम् ।

Uttara I. 33.

⁴ J. 31.

Sālā—dining hall.

Asanaphalaka—bench.

⁵ Culla. V. 19, *Asittakūpadhāna*.

⁶ Culla. VIII. 4-5, Culla. (H) VIII. 2, 2.

c.f. Bhikkhu Pātimokkha (H) VII. 27-56, Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha VI. 27-56, Majjhima (H) 91.

⁷ Culla (H) VIII. 2, 2, Sudhābhojana J. 335.

⁸ Culla. (H) VIII. 3, 1.

food was distributed to the monks at Rājagṛha by tying tickets with each share.¹

It appears that the food of the poor people generally consisted of such coarse preparations as cold cakes, *Kulmāṣa*, fried beans such as *Mudga* and *Māṣa*, shrivelled grain (*Pulaka*), scum of boiled rice (*Ācāma*), barley mess, barley water, sour gruel, or butter milk, salt and oil.² The rich on the other hand enjoyed delicious rice gruel, cakes of eighteen kinds and food having a number of flavours. They also took some delicacies (*Uttari-bhaṅga*) at the end of their meals.³

The Brāhmaṇas were feasted with meat and rice preparations.⁴ From the Ambaṭṭha Sutta we learn that they lived on boiled *ḥāli* rice, pulses from which black specks had been sought out and removed and flavoured with meat sauces and curries (*Vyañjana*) of various kinds.⁵

The Samājas afforded occasions for big feasts. Feasts were also arranged on such auspicious occasions as the birth of a son. These feasts took place in dining halls where people sat on excellent comfortable seats.⁶

On some routes it was difficult to get food stuffs so the Buddha allowed his followers to take some food for journey (*Pāṭheya*) such as rice, *mudga*, *māṣa*, salt, *gṛda*, oil and clarified butter.⁷

The food habits of people naturally differed from region to region. The Kambojas of Uttarāpatha were in the habit of eating insects, moths and some kinds of snakes, and frogs.⁸ While the people of Koṣṭhika were fond of fruits and flowers.⁹

¹ S.B.B. Vol. V, p. 247, Culla. VI. 25.

² Mahāvagga (Hindi) VI. 5.1, Kassapasihanāda Sutta. Uttara. XV.

³ सोत्तरीयं याम् पितृत्वा मृद्वारत्तं विधम् खञ्जकम् खदित्वा नानगरसेहि सुभोजनम् भुञ्जितुम् न वहेतीति ।

J. I. 186.

सत सहस्रस्य निकाय सुवण्णपातिया सतरस भोजनं भुञ्जति

J. II. 319.

⁴ J. 545, VI. 238.

⁵ Digh. I, p. 88, Digh. (H) I. 5.

⁶ Kalpa. Sū., p. 255.

⁷ Mahāvagga (H) VI. 6.4.

⁸ Bhāridatta. J. 543, Barua. II. 259.

⁹ Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya. I. 1239.

To sum up in the early Jain and Buddhist works, rice occupied a more prominent place than barley or wheat. Some fine preparations from cereals such as *Ghayapunnaka*, *Morandaka* and *Khajjaka*s and from pulses *Vatakas* of many kinds and *Parpatas* were made. Milk products and fruits and vegetables of all kinds were widely used. Fruit syrups seem to have been very popular. In the east meat and fish were common articles of food but some people eschewed meat diet as a result of the teachings of Mahāvīra and the Buddha. Drinking on festive occasions was common but the followers of the Buddha and Mahāvīra were expected to avoid it. The Jains were very particular about non-killing of living creatures, hence they used only strained water and avoided all food articles in which there was a possibility of the existence of any insect. The Buddha allowed all food articles necessary to sustain life but the Jain monks were advised to abstain from all food as a last stage in spiritual advancement. It is quite probable that the rules about diet current among the Jains may have come from the code of the Ājīvikas.

CHAPTER IV
FOOD AND DRINKS
(300 B.C. to 75 A.D.)

For the period 300 B.C. to 75 A.D. we have information from the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya, the edicts of Aśoka and the accounts of Greek historians. Incidentally Patañjali's great commentary, the Mahābhāṣya, also throws some light on the food habits of the Indians. We have utilized all this information in the first section of this chapter. The authorities utilized in the second section are of a date slightly more uncertain.¹

SECTION I (MAURYA AND SUNGA PERIOD)

It appears from the Greek sources that there were two main crops, one ripening in winter consisting of rice and millet and the other ripening in summer, the chief products thereof being wheat and barley as now.² But from Kauṭilya we learn that there was a third crop which was grown between the two main crops. It chiefly produced beans such as *Mudga* and *Māṣa*.³

CEREALS AND PULSES

Rice and barley continued to be the staple foodgrains.⁴ Besides the old varieties of rice *Sālī*, *Vrihi*, *Kodrava* and *Priyamgu* two new varieties *Dāraka* and *Varaka* had come into use in Kauṭilya's time.⁵ From Patañjali it appears that *Hāyana* and *Śastika* varieties of rice were quite popular.⁶ No new preparations of

¹ According to the *Mahābhāṣya*, a commentary on the Jñānaprasthāna of Kātyāyana-putra, the Rāmāyaṇa contained only 12,000 ślokaś in the first century A.D. instead of the present version which has 24,000 ślokaś.

² Strabo. XV. Frag. C. 190.

³ शास्त्रिहिकोद्वलिव्रियकुदरकवरकः पूर्ववापः। मुद्गमाषोभ्याः मषवापः। कुमुममसुरकुलुत्पमनोभूमकलायातसीसर्षपाः पश्चाद्वापः।
Kaut. II. 24; 16-18.

⁴ Kaut. II. 24, McCrindle, p. 127.

⁵ *Dāraka* (*Paspalum Scrobiculatum*)—Kaut. II. 24.16.
Same as *Uddālaka* in *Caraka*.

Varaka—(*Phaseolus Trilobus*)—Kaut. II. 24.16.

⁶ *Hāyana*—Patañjali IV. 1.27, p. 223.3.

Śastika—Ibid IV. 1.93, p. 360. 3.

rice are mentioned.¹ The two varieties of barley one cultivated and the other uncultivated² were commonly used in preparing a mess, a gruel, groats and cakes. Gruel was also prepared with an inferior food grain called *Gavidbhukā*. Groats were now eaten with curds.³ Wheat now occupied a more important place among the cereals than in the previous period, it being invariably mentioned with barley.⁴ Besides the old pulses, pea seems to have become very popular. A soup prepared from it is expressly mentioned by Patañjali. *Rājamāṣa* had also come into use in his time.⁵ A taboo against the use of *Māṣa* and its preparations is referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya*. *Kulmāṣa* was eaten in this period as well.⁶

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Kauṭilya mentions an officer called *Go'dhyakṣa* assisted by two junior persons in charge of milking cows (*dobaka*) and churning curds (*Manthaka*).⁷ Cows were generally milked twice a

¹ The old preparations mentioned are:—

Oḍana or *Bhukta*—Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 42. 17, III. 1.26 p. 33. 26, McCrindle p. 74. Frag. 28.

Kṛsara—Kaut. II. 12. 5., Patañjali VIII. 3.39 p. 439.12.

Saṣkult—Patañjali I. 1.47 p. 116.23.

Pāpa—Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 38.5.

Apāpa—Ibid. I. 2.45. p. 217. 13.

Pīṣṭapīṇḍa—Ibid. II. 1.57 p. 399. 24.

² *Yava* (cultivated barley)—McCrindle, p. 127.

Yavani (uncultivated barley)—McCrindle, p. 127., Patañjali IV. 1.49., p. 220.

³ *Siddhapiṣṭa* (Cakes)—Kaut. II. 15.41.

Yavaka (a mess)—Kaut. II. 15.40.

Yavagū (gruel)—Patañjali II. 1.36. p. 388. 25.

Śakṭu (groats)—Patañjali I. 1. 57. p. 149. 17.

Yavagū cooked with *Gavidbhukā* Ibid. IV. 3. 136 p. 323.2.

Dadhikaṣṭu (curds with parched barley meal)—Patañjali. I. 1.49 and I. 1. 57.

⁴ McCrindle, p. 27, Kaut. II. 24.18.

⁵ The old pulses in common use were:—

Mudga—Kaut. II. 24.17.

Māṣa—Kaut. II. 24.17.

Masūra—Kaut. II. 24. 18.

Kulatttha—Kaut. II. 24.18.

Kalāya Śūpa—(a soup prepared from pea)—Patañjali, V. 1.19 p. 344.18.

Rājamāṣa—Patañjali V. 1.20. p. 345. 25.

⁶ माषा न भोजनव्या इत्युक्ते निष्ठा अपि न भुज्यन्ते।

Mahābhāṣya I. 127.

Kulmāṣa—Kaut. II. 15.

⁷ Kaut. II. 29.

day in the rainy season, autumn and winter, but only once in the spring and summer seasons.¹ Besides cow's milk, milk of buffaloes, sheep and goats was used. Clarified butter was prepared from the milk of these animals.² Curds and churned curds seem to have been popular as a person who sold the latter is mentioned.³ Other products of milk in common use were butter and butter milk. Kaṭilya lays down that buttermilk should be given to the dogs and pigs, solid part of inspissated milk (*Kārcikā*) to the soldiers with the food, and the liquid part (*Kilāṣa*) to the cows with fodder.⁴

MEAT DIET

Kaṭilya mentions a superintendent of slaughter houses⁵ and permits the sale of the flesh of animals recently killed. He lays down that the flesh of those animals which had died a natural death, were killed outside the slaughter house, were giving out a foul smell or were devoid of head or bones should not be sold.⁶ He mentions a vendor of cooked meat and says that for dressing twenty *palas* of flesh, half a *kuduba* of oil, one *pala* of salt, two *dharapas* of pungent spices and half a *prastha* of curds

¹ वर्षाशरद्धेमन्तानुभवतः कालं दुह्युः। शिशिरवसन्तग्रीष्मानेककालम्।

Kaut. II. 29. 29-30.

² क्षीरदोणे गवो धृतप्रस्थः। पञ्चमागाधिको नहिवीणाम्। द्विभागाधिकोऽश्ववीणाम्।

Kaut. II. 29. 34-36.

³ *Dadhi* (curds) is mentioned by Kaṭilya among sour liquid substances (*dravāṃślavarga*), Kaut. II. 12.5.

Matthitika—(one who sells churned curds)—Patañjali V. 3.83. p. 425. 18.

⁴ *Haiyāṅgaṇa* (butter prepared from yesterday's milk) Patañjali V. 2.23. p. 375.2, 375.5.

Udadul (buttermilk).

उदस्विच्छ्वं ववराहेभ्यो दधुः।

Kaut. II. 29.25.

Kārcikā (solid part of inspissated milk)

कूर्चिकां सेनाभक्तार्थमाहरेयुः।

Kaut. II. 29.26.

Kilāṣa (inspissated milk)

किल्लाटो घाणपिण्याकवलेदार्यः।

Kaut. II. 29. 27.

⁵ *Śmādhyaṅkeṣa*—Kaut. II. 26.

⁶ मृषपशूनामनस्थिमांसं क्षुब्धोहतं विक्रीणीरन्। अस्विनतः प्रतिपातं दधुः। वत्सो बृषो धेनुश्चैवामवध्याः। परिक्षुनमशिरः पादास्थि विगन्धं स्वयं मृतं च न विक्रीणीरन्।

Kaut. II. 26. 10-14.

are required¹. Fish and seasoned meat were also in common use.² Atrian's evidence shows that people in the hills were mostly non-vegetarians.³ Megasthenes states that Indian philosophers generally abstained from animal food.⁴

Aśoka's edicts show that thousands of living creatures were killed for food in his kitchen before he issued his decree restricting the practice to two peacocks and one deer.⁵ Animals were also killed in the *Samājas*.⁶ From the *Mahābhāṣya* we learn that deer especially the *Sārasva* variety, and sheep were killed in Patañjali's

¹ *Pāṭhanāntarika* (cooked meat seller).

शोण्डिक पात्रमात्रिकोदतिक स्या जीवा परिज्ञातमादसयेयः।

Kaut. II. 33. 9.

मंसपलविशल्या स्नेहार्थं कुडुवः पलिको तवणस्त्राशः क्षारपलवोगो द्विधरणिको कटुकधोगो दन्धस्वार्थप्रस्थः।

Kaut. II. 15.66.

1 *Pala* = 25 *rattis*

1 *Dharaya* = 1½ *rattis*.

1 *Kuduba* = 22 *tolas*

1 *Prastha* = 29 *tolas*.

अथवाग्यमाषद्विपलशतं दोणमादमातम्। सप्ताशीति पलशतमर्धपलं च व्यावहारिकम्। तेषामादकप्रस्थकुडुवास्तुर्माणा वराः।

Kaut. II. 19. 32-36.

² शुष्कमत्स्यमंसं कन्दमूलफलशाकादि च शाकवर्गः।

Kaut. II. 11.22.

Kautilya calls seasoned meat (*Vallīra*) Kaut. II. 4.35.

³ *Indika* XVI.

⁴ McCrindle, p. 99, Strabo XVI. 1.59.

⁵ इयं धम तिवि देवानं पियेना पियदसिना लेखिता हिदा न किञ्चि जिबे आसन्निभु पजो-
हित विवे तोपि वा समाजं कटविये बहुका हि दोसा समाज क्षा देवानां पिये पियदसी लाजा कलति
अथि पि वा एकतिया समाजं साधुमता देवानं पियसा पिय दसिना लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहुनि पान
कहसनि आसन्निभिनु सुपडावे ते इदानी यद इयं धम तिवि लेखिता तदा तिनि येवा पानानि
आसन्निभयति दुवे मजुसा एके भित्ते आसन्निभिसति।

Rock Edict. I.

इमानि जातानि भवध्यानं कृतानि तानि यथा शुक्रः सारिका अरुणः चक्रवाकः हंसाः
नान्दीभुजः गेलाटः जतुकः अम्बाक पीलिका दुडिः, अनास्थिक मत्स्यः देव वेयकः (जीवं जीवकः)।
गंगा पुण्डक (गंगा कुक्कुटकः) संकुल मत्स्यः (सकुल मत्स्यः) कमठः शल्यः पर्णशशाः सुमरः
पण्डकः, मकपिण्डः, पुपतः श्वेत कपोतः, ग्राम कपोतः सर्वः चतुष्पवः यः परिभोगं न एति न च
साधते। एडकां च सुकरी च गभिणी वा पयस्विनी वा भवध्या पीतकाः अपि आषाष्मासिकाः।
वर्धितः कुक्कुटः न कर्तव्यः। तुपाः सजीवाः न दम्भ्यः। जीवेन जीवः न पोष्टव्यः। तिसृषु
चातुर्मासीषु तिथ्येर्पोर्णमास्यां भवध्वः। नापि विव्रेतव्यः मोक्षा कृतः।

Pillar Edict. V.

Peacock was the only bird which is forbidden by the authors of *Smṛtis* but was eaten by Aśoka.

⁶ Kaut. (Mysore 1919), p. 43., Vinaya IV. 267, Mahāvastu. III. 57, 583.

C.f. Mbh. Vinay. II. 7. XIII, 15-16.

time for food and there were persons who were fond of flesh.¹ Flesh of deer was cooked with rice and fish were eaten after removing scales and small bones.² It seems that meat having much fat was relished.³ Flesh of village or town cocks and boars was generally avoided,⁴ and it seems that the Brāhmanas considered it improper to sell flesh.⁵

SWEETS

Honey was in common use⁶ but the products of sugarcane such as inspissated juice of sugarcane, *guda*, raw sugar, sugar-candy and refined sugar were quite popular.⁷ Even Megasthenes speaks very highly of Indian sugar.⁸ Besides the old sweets

¹ मांसोदनाय व्याहरति मृगः ।

प्रवेर्मांसम् ।

सारंग जन्धि ।

Māmsatila—Ibid. III. 2. 1. p. 95. 18.

² शक्य कष्टवान् उत्सृजति ।

³ प्रवपानि मांसानि ।

⁴ समक्ष्यो ग्राम्यकुवकुटोऽमक्ष्यो ग्राम्यशूकरः ।

नगरोजपि न भक्ष्यते ।

⁵ मांसं न विक्रेतव्यम् ।

⁶ Honey—Strabo. XV. 491, Patañjali I. 1.1., p. 18-19, Kauṣilya also mentions honey prepared from grapes :

खीरं माहीकं च मधु ।

⁷ Sugarcane—

Aelian mentions reeds which yielded very sweet milk which did not require honey to be mixed with it.

फाणितमृदमरस्यण्डिकाखण्डशर्कराः क्षार वरीः

Phlegma (inspissated juice of sugarcane)—Kaut. II. 15.15.

Guda (molasses)—Kaut. Ibid., Patañjali I. 4.49 p. 333.3.

Matiyandika (sugar candy)—Kaut. Ibid.

Khaṇḍa (raw sugar)—Kaut. Ibid.

Sarkara (granulated sugar)—Kaut. Ibid., Patañjali IV. 4. 85. p. 334.11.

⁸ Pliny says that the Indian sugar was better than the Arabian sugar (McCrimble, p. 122). Megasthenes thought that the Indian sugarcandy was better than that prepared from figs or honey. (Megasthenes X, Strabo XV. 703).

Patañjali II. 3.1. p. 410-1.

Patañjali IV. 2. 60 p. 285-20.

Ibid. II. 2. 36. p. 437.21.

Ibid. I. 2.39. p. 912.6.

Ibid. VIII. 4.16 p. 458. 12.

Ibid. I. 1.1., V. 16.

Ibid. VII. 3.14., p. 320-22.

Kielhorn. I. 25.

Kaut. II. 15.17.

McCrimble, p. 145.

Kaut. II. 15.24.

Kaut. II. 15.15.

such as *apāpa*, *śaṣkṇī* and *pālala* Patañjali mentions *Modakas*.¹

SALTS AND SPICES

Kautilya mentions a superintendent of salt² and six varieties of salt, rock salt from the Sindhu country, sea salt, *bīḍa* salt, nitre, *śannercala* and *Udbbedaja*.³ Pliny speaks very highly of Indian pepper. The black pepper was considered agreeable to the palate and the white one less pungent.⁴ Other spices in common use were long pepper, ginger, cumin seeds, white mustard, coriander, cloves and turmeric.⁵ Four kinds of cardamom white, reddish white, short and black mottled and friable are mentioned but the green variety was much esteemed.⁶ Some other spices were also used.⁷ Aristobulos states that spikenard, cinnamon and other aromatics were produced in India.⁸

Vinegar was prepared from sugarcane juice, *gūḍa*, honey, inspissated juice of sugarcane, rose apple and jack fruits. A decoction of *meṣaśrīṅgi* and pepper was poured into it. Fruits such as cucumber, pieces of sugarcane, mango, and *āmalaka* (emblic myrobalan) were preserved in vinegar.⁹ Sour gruel was also used.¹⁰

¹ *Apāpa*—(sweet cakes)—See p. 88, f. n. 1.

Śaṣkṇī—(sweet cakes)—Ibid.

Pālala—A kind of sweet meat made of *gūḍa*, sesamum and sugar, Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 38. 6.

Modakas were generally prepared with wheat flour fried in ghee and mixed with sugar—Patañjali V. 1.119 p. 366. 9.

² *Lavanādhyakṣa*—Kaut. II. 12. Clitarchus mentions salt mines in his account of India. McCrindle, p. 99.

³ सैन्धवसामुद्रविडयवसारसौवर्चलोद्भेदजा लवणवर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.16.

⁴ McCrindle, p. 121.

⁵ पिप्पलीमरीचशृङ्गिबेरानिजिराततिक्तागौरसर्षपकुस्तुम्बुह्वोरकद्रमनकमह्वक शिपु-काण्डादिः कटुकवर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.21.

Cloves are also mentioned by Pliny (McCrindle, p. 122).

⁶ McCrindle, p. 125.

⁷ *Corioka*, *Damanaka*, *Mariwaka*, *Sigru*, *Haritaki*, *Meṣaśrīṅga*.

⁸ McCrindle, p. 28.

⁹ इक्षुरक्षुद्रमधुकाणितशाम्बवपनसामन्यतमो मेपशृङ्गी पिप्पली कवावाभिप्लुतो मासिकः पाण्मासिकः सांवरसरिको वा चिद्भिदोर्वाहकेक्षुकाण्डान्नफलायसकावसुतः शुद्धो वा शुक्ल वर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.

¹⁰ दधिधानशाम्बादि द्रवाम्ल वर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.20.

OILS AND OILSEEDS

The important oil seeds were sesamum, safflower, linseed and mustard.¹ The Greek writers state that oil was extracted from sesamum and exported from India.² From Kautilya we learn that besides clarified butter and oil animal fats such as, scrum of flesh and pith were also used.³ Sesamum oil was kept in wooden or earthen vessels and used in frying,⁴ but other oils may also have been used in cooking.⁵ From the Mahābhāṣya we infer that it was considered improper for a Brāhmana to sell oil.⁶

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

From the Greek sources we learn that figs, grapes, banana and tamarind⁷ were in common use, but *Karamarda*, *Parīṣaka*, mango, emblic myrobalan, citrus medica, the three varieties of jujube, rose apple, cucumber, palm fruit and *rājādana*⁸ were also eaten. Mango gardens were planted by Aśoka himself.⁹ Patañjali mentions *bimba* (momordica monodelpha), pomegranates, and

¹ Kaut. II. 15, II. 24.18.

² McCrindle, p. 127, Strabo, XV. 491, Indika XV. C.7.

³ सपिस्तील वसामज्जानः स्नेहाः ।

Kaut. II. 15.14.

⁴ उच्चैर्घान्यस्य लिख्यो मूतः क्षारस्य संहताः । मृत्काष्ठ-कोष्ठाः स्नेहस्य पृथिवी जल-
वस्य च ।

Kaut. II. 15.84.

⁵ Other substances from which oil was extracted were *nimba*, *kusa*, *śura*, *kapitsba*, *madhūka*, and *lāguṛi*.

षट्कं तैलमतस्तीनाम् । निम्बकुशाशकपित्वादीनां च पञ्चभागः । अलुभागिका-
स्तिलकुमुन्ममघूकेज्जुदीस्नेहः ।

Kaut. II. 15. 49-51.

⁶ तैलं न विभेदयन् ।

Mahābhāṣya Kielhorn (1892) I., p. 23.

⁷ McCrindle, p. 120. Strabo XV. 492.

⁸ वृक्षाम्लकरमर्दाभिदिलामलकमातुलुककोलवदरसीबीरकपल्लवकादिफलम्लवर्गः ।

Kaut. II. 15.19.

Jambā (rose apple), *panata* (bread fruit), *siddhiya* (cucumber).

aryāraka (a kind of cucumber) are mentioned in Kaut. II. 15.

यवमाषतिलभलाशपीलुक्षारंगोक्षीराजसीरैशै कदली वज्जकन्द प्रतीनापो मार्दव करः ।

Kaut. II. 12. 9.

Talapāla (palm fruit)

Kaut. II. 12.2.

Rājādana

Kaut. II. 17.4.

Mrdvika (grapes)

Kaut. II. 24.31.

Cita (mango)

Kaut. II. 12.2.

⁹ Pillar Edict. VII.

grapes.¹ Some of these fruits may have been imported from neighbouring countries.

Among vegetables Kautilya refers to roots, fruits and tubers² as also fruits gathered from creepers.³ The roots mentioned are *Piṇḍāluka* and *Vajrakanda* (*Sūraṇa*).⁴ Pot herbs are called *Sāka* or *Haritaka*.⁵ Of the flowers *Kovidāra*, and of the beans pea were used as vegetables.⁶ It appears from Patañjali that onions were mostly eaten by non-vegetarians⁷ and sometimes used to flavour liquors.⁸ He uses the word *Sākabhojin* i.e. a consumer of vegetables.⁹

INTOXICATING DRINKS

Megasthenes states that the Indians drank only at the religious ceremonies;¹⁰ but this does not seem to be the actual state of affairs in view of the account of Kautilya. There was a superintendent of liquors.¹¹ The liquor shops had many rooms provided with beds and seats and other comforts such as scents and garlands.¹² These shops were situated at stated intervals and

¹ *Bimba* (momordica monodelpha)—Patañjali I. 1.58 p. 155.15.

Dādima (pomegranate)—Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 38. 5.

Mṛdalkā (grapes)—Patañjali VI. 3. 42 p. 158.16.

Kaṇṭa (jube)—Patañjali IV. 3.170. p. 323. 5.

² कन्दमूलफलद्विरीषधर्वः।

Kaut. II. 17.11.

शुष्कमत्स्यमांसकन्दमूलफलशकादि च शाक वर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.22.

³ फेताघातो बलीकलावां, परीवाहान्ताः मूडीकेक्षुणां, कूपपर्वन्तशाकमूलानां, हरिण-
पर्वन्ताः हरितकानां, पाल्मोलवानां गन्धर्भपञ्चोक्षीरह्रीवेर पिण्डालुकानाम्।

Kaut. II. 24.31.

पुलकलशकमूलकन्दशालिलवयवीड शुष्कमत्स्यमांसानां षट्भागं गृह्णीयात्।

Kaut. II. 22.4.

⁴ *Piṇḍāluka*—Kaut. II. 24.31.

Vajrakanda—Kaut. II. 12.9.

⁵ Kaut. II. 15.22, II. 22.4, II. 24.31.

⁶ *Kovidāra*—Kaut. II. 12.7.

Kalāya (Pea) Ibid.

⁷ Patañjali II. 2.36. p. 437.21.

⁸ अयं पलाण्डुना सुरां पिबेत्।

Mahābhāṣya, p. 419. 4.

⁹ Patañjali II. 1.69 p. 406.7.

¹⁰ McCrindle, p. 27. Strabo. XV. 709.

¹¹ *Surdalhyakya* II. 25.1.

¹² पानागाराण्यनेककस्याणि विभक्तशयनासनवन्ति पानोद्देशानि गन्धमात्मोदकवन्स्पृष्ट-
सुखाणि कारयेत्।

Kaut. II. 15.12.

liquor was sold to persons of well known character in small quantities.¹ Manufacture of wine was a state monopoly but on festive occasions the right of private manufacture of beer for four days was recognised on payment of licence fees.² Women were employed to remove the fermented drugs.³ From Patañjali we learn that there were some people who could drink a complete jar of wine through a pipe made of reeds.⁴ As stated above sometimes liquors were flavoured with the juice of onions.⁵

According to Megasthenes rice beer was the common drink in India; but Kautilya gives, a detailed account of the method and ingredients of various other intoxicating drinks. *Medaka*⁶ and *Prasanna*⁷ were manufactured from rice. In an *Asava* extract of *Kapittha* and inspissated juice of sugarcane were the principal

¹ Kaut. II. 25.

² Kaut. II. 25.

³ Ibid.

⁴ The distilling apparatus resembled the trunk of an elephant, hence a distiller was called *Sundin* (Patañjali IV. 1.52, p. 246-26). *Ghaṭīndhana* and *Nāḍīndhana*—Patañjali III. 2.29, p. 102. 15-16.

⁵ Mahābhāṣya p. 419.4.

⁶ In preparing *Medaka* one *droṇa* of water, half an *āṭhaka* of rice and three *prastha* of yeast cake were used. The ten ingredients mixed with it were *paṭha*, *ladura*, *śyovati*, *clavulaka*, *madhu* (honey), *madhūka*, *dāru*, *priyangu*, *dāru-baridrā*, black pepper, and long pepper.

शेदकप्रसन्नासवारिष्टमैरेमनवूनामुदकद्रोणम् ।

तद्भुलानामर्धादकं त्रयः प्रस्थाः किञ्चस्येति शेदकयोगः ।

Kaut. II. 25.7.

सायकल्कोदोणमर्धं रिद्धं वा त्रिभगाधिकतण्डुलं मोरटादीनां कायिकमगमुक्तः किञ्चवन्धः ।

Kaut. II. 25.25.

पाशानोपेतैर्जोतयेलावालुकमधुमधुरसाप्रियङ्गुदाहृदिद्रामरिचविण्णलीनां च पञ्चकथिकः संभारयोगो शेदकस्य प्रसन्नायास्य ।

Kaut. II. 25. 27.

⁷ In the preparation of *Prasanna* 12 *āṭhaka* of rice flour, five *prastha* of *Kiper*, and some other spices were required.

द्वादशादकं पिष्टस्य पञ्चप्रस्थाः किञ्चस्य पुत्रकत्वक् फलमुक्तो वा जाति संभारः प्रसन्नयोगः ।

Kaut. II. 25.18.

From Patañjali we know that it had often an oily substance.

बहुतैवम् प्रसन्नाः ।

Patañjali V. 3.66. p. 421.17.

ingredients,¹ while *Ariṣṭa* was a tincture of medicines.² *Maireya* was a spiced liquor prepared from the bark of *meṣāsringī* (*Gymnema sylvestre*) and was a favourite drink of the nobles.³ Wines from grapes were in common use.⁴ The two famous varieties *Kāpiṭṭha* and *Hārahāraka* were imported from Afghanistan.⁵ Kauṭilya mentions five varieties of *surā*, including *svetasurā*, *bijottarā* and *sāmbhērīkī*. In *Sahakārasurā* the juice of mango fruit and in *rasottarā* treacle were the chief ingredients; the other three were spiced liquors.⁶ Palm fruit was also used in preparing liquors according to Greek authorities.⁷ Kauṭilya observed that the effects of drunkenness are loss of wealth, insanity, absence of consciousness, loss of knowledge, life, wealth and friends, desertion by virtues and suffering from pain.⁸ It appears from the *Mahābhāṣya* that there was a belief among the Indians that a Brāhmaṇa woman who indulged in drinking would be deprived of her husband's company in the next world.⁹

¹ In the manufacture of *āra* one hundred *palas* of the extract of *Kapittha*, 500 *palas* of inspissated juice of sugarcane and one *prastha* of honey were used.

कपित्थं तुला कान्तिं पञ्चतीक्ष्णं प्रस्थो मधुन इत्यासन्नं योजः।

Kaut. II. 25. 19.

चौचचित्तकविदङ्कमजपिप्पलीनां च पञ्चकार्षिकः क्रमुकमधुकमुस्तालोघ्राणां द्वि-
कार्षिकश्चासन्नसंभारः।

Kaut. II. 25. 29.

² चिकित्सक प्रमाणाः प्रत्येकशो विकाराणामरिष्टाः।

Kaut. II. 25. 21.

³ *Maireya* was a decoction of the bark of *meṣāsringī* (*Gymnema sylvestre*), *gūḍa*, powdered long pepper and black pepper or powder of *haritaki*, *āmālaka* and *śvhitaka* instead of long pepper.

मेषशृङ्गित्वक् नवायाम्पुतो गुड प्रतीवापः पिप्पलीमरिचसंभारस्त्रिफलायुक्तो वा
नैरेयः।

Kaut. II. 25. 22.

⁴ मृदीका रसो मधु।

Kaut. II. 25. 24.

⁵ तस्य स्वदेशो व्याख्यातं कापिशायनं हारदूरकमिति।

Kaut. II. 25. 25.

⁶ *Surā*—Patañjali I. 2.62. p. 242. 25.

Same spices were used in the manufacture of *svetasurā* as are used in preparing *prasaṇḍā* variety.

⁷ McCrindle, p. 126, Pliny XIV. C. 16(19).

⁸ धानं संपत् संज्ञा नाशोऽनुन्मत्तस्योन्मत्तत्वमप्रेतस्य प्रेतत्वं कौपीनदर्शनं क्षुत्प्रज्ञाप्रण-
वित्तमिव हानिः, सद्भिर्धियो गोश्रद्धेयं संबोधस्तन्त्रीगीतनैपुण्येषु चार्थभेदेषु प्रसङ्ग इति।

Kaut. VIII. 3. 65.

⁹ वा ब्राह्मणी सुरापी भवति नैनम् देवाः पतिलोके नयन्ति।

Patañjali. III. 2.8., p. 99.8.

OTHER BEVERAGES

Other beverages were curds, buttermilk, sour gruel, fruit juices and a syrup prepared from molasses.¹ Aśoka also realised the importance of providing drinking water to his people, so he had wells dug at short intervals.²

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The culinary art was so well developed that Kauṭilya could specify the quantities of grain which remained after pounding, cleaning, rubbing between stones, grinding and roasting.³ He also states the increase in different grains after cooking and the quantity of oil which one could get from different oil seeds.⁴ He mentions the quantity of spices and fats required for cooking meat, and states that half that quantity is required for cooking pot herbs and double that quantity for cooking dry vegetables.⁵ Grains, moistened and soaked to sprouting condition, are also mentioned. There were cooks expert in cooking vegetables and pulses, in boiling rice, in preparing cakes and shopkeepers who especially sold cooked meat.⁶

Kauṭilya lays down that the kitchen should be in a safe place and the superintendent of the kitchen should taste every

¹ *Dadhi* (curds)—Kaut. II. 15.20.

Dhānyāmla (sour gruel)—Kaut. II. 15.20.

Gudāḍaka (syrup prepared from molasses)—Patañjali. I. 4.3. p. 310.14.

² Pillar Edict VII, Rock Edict. II.

³ क्षुण्णवृष्टपिष्टभृष्टानामाद्रंशुकसिद्धानां च धान्यानां वृद्धिक्षयप्रमाणानि कुर्वीत।

Kaut. II. 15.26.

⁴ कोद्वव्रीहीणामर्धसारः। शालीनामर्धभागोनः। विभागोनः वरकाणाम्। त्रियङ्गुणामर्धं सारः। नवभाग वृद्धिश्च। उदारकस्तुल्यः यवागोधूमाश्च क्षुण्णाः। तिष्ठायना मुद्गमाषाश्च पृष्टाः। पञ्चभागवृद्धिर्गोधूमः सततवश्च। पादोला कलायचमसी। मुद्गमाषाणामर्धं पादोनः। शैम्बानामर्धसारः। विभागोनः मसूराणाम्। पिष्टमामं कुत्माषाश्चाध्यधं गुणाः। द्विगुणोद्यावकः। पुलाकः पिष्टं च सिद्धम्। कोद्ववकरकोदारकप्रियङ्गुणाम् त्रिगुणमन्नम् तनुगुण व्रीहीणाम्। पञ्चगुणं शालीनाम्। तिमितमवरात्रं द्विगुणमर्धधिकविह्वलानाम्। पञ्चभागवृद्धिः भृष्टानाम्। कलायो द्विगुणः। लाजा भरुजाश्च।

Kaut. II. 15. 27-48.

⁵ शाकानामध्यधं गुणः। शुष्काणां द्विगुणः स चैव योगः।

Kaut. II. 15. 68-69.

⁶ कणिका शसनर्मकारसूचकाराणामतोम्यदीदनिकापूविकेयः प्रयच्छेत्।

Kaut. II. 15.81.

See p. 90, f. n. 1 for पाक्वनांसिक

preparation before it is served.¹ He also mentions the symptoms of poisoned food articles.² The common kitchen implements in use were a weighing balance, weights, grinding stones, mortar and pestle, a winnowing basket, a sieve, a broom, a basket and a small box for spices etc. The contrivances for pounding rice and splitting pulses had also come into use.³

Strabo mentions that copper vessels were most common and the brazen ones were avoided on account of their supposed brittleness.⁴ The common utensils were water jars, water pots, jars for storing grains, cooking pots, bowls, dishes and cups.⁵ Bronze vessels were also in use.⁶ Bowls, plates and water-vessels are depicted in Bhārhut sculptures.⁷

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

The duty of extending hospitality to guests and making offerings of food to gods and forefathers was considered so important that even a book on polity like *Ārthasāstra* lays it

¹ गुप्ते देशे माहानयिकः सर्वमास्वादवाहुत्वेन कर्म कारयेत् । ८। तत्रात्रा तथैव प्रति-
भुञ्जीत पूर्वमनये अयोम्यदच वसि कृत्वा । ९।

Kaut. I, 21, 8-9.

² Kaut. I, 21, 10-19.

³ तुलामानभागं रोचनी द्युपमसुखलोलकुटुकरोचकपत्रपत्रकशूर्पचानिकाकण्डोली
पिदकसंमार्जन्यदक्षोपकरणानि ।

Kaut. II, 15, 82.

⁴ McCrindle.

⁵ Patañjali mentions the following utensils:

Ghaṇṭika (a small water jar) I. 1.1. p. 7.13.

Kuṇḍika (a water pot) I. 4.44. p. 102.12.

Kumbha (a water jar) I. 1.18. p. 153.1.

Kumbhā (a jar for storing grains) I. 3.7. p. 264-2.

Kunda (a bowl) I. 1.1. p. 38L. 5.

*Sthālī** (a cooking pot) IV. 1.1. p. 194L. 17.

Ukṣā (A boiler) IV. 1.6. p. 202L. 13.

Piṣṭhā (a pot pan) I. 4.101. p. 350L. 21.

Sardā (a small dish) I. 1.72. p. 189.24.

Tailaghaṭa (a jar for storing oil) II. 1.1. p. 364L. 18.

Cara IV. 2.7. p. 273.12.

* *Sthālī* has all along been used in the sense of a cooking pot, hence *Sthālīpāka*, offerings cooked in a cooking pot. It does not mean a dish as explained by Dr. B.N. Puri (India in the Time of Patañjali, p. 100). Also see Appendix V.

⁶ बहुशरीरवृत्तमोदन कूर्वास्पयाभ्यां भुञ्जीरवसि ।

Patañjali VIII. 2.3. p. 388-12.

⁷ Cunningham Bhārhut Plate XXVIII Figs. 2. and 3, Plate XL Fig. 3.

down among the duties of a householder and a hermit.¹ Food was also set apart for servants and birds etc. before the householder took his meals.²

From the Mahābhāṣya it appears that the Sakas and Yavanas were allowed to take their meals in the utensils of the three high castes without making them permanently unclean.³ A student and a hermit were expected to live on alms, while a forester lived on the roots, fruits and tubers gathered from the forest.⁴ Strabo says that the students avoided meat diet while the householders did not eat the flesh of animals employed in labour. They also abstained from hot and highly seasoned food.⁵ The Brāhmaṇas, well-versed in the Vedas, and the hermits were allowed to take fruits which had fallen themselves and the gleanings of corn.⁶

From the account of Megasthenes we learn that when an Indian was at supper a table was placed before him. On this table a golden bowl was placed in which boiled rice and other dainties were served.⁷ This account, no doubt, refers to the rich at whose residences vessels of gold were used daily. The Mahābhāṣya states that all those who took their meals in a standing

¹ गृहस्थस्य स्वकर्माजीवस्तुल्यं एतन्नातिविभिर्बैवाह्यमुत्तुगामित्वा देवपित्रतिथिभूतेषु स्नाय-
शेषभोजनं च ।

Kaut. I. 3.9.

वानप्रस्थस्य ब्रह्मचर्यं भूयो कस्या जडाजिनभारजमग्निहोत्राभियेको देवतापित्रतिथि-
पूजा न्यस्त्याहारः ।

Kaut. I. 3.11.

² तद्राजा तस्यैव प्रतिभूञ्जीत पूर्वमनये वयोभयश्च बलि कृत्वा ।

Kaut. I. 21.9.

³ Patañjali on Pāṇini II. 4.10.

शूद्राणां च अनिरवस्थितानाम् ।

Also see I.H.Q. Vol. XV. No. 4, Dec. 1939.

Date of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya—D.C. Sircar.

⁴ ब्रह्मचारिणः स्वाध्यायोऽग्निकार्याभियेको भैक्षप्रतस्त्वनाचार्यं प्राणान्तिकी वृत्तिस्तदभावे
गृह्युत्तरे च ब्रह्मचारिणि वा ।

Kaut. I. 3.10.

परिव्राजकस्य संपलेन्द्रियत्वमनारम्भो निष्कचिन्तनं सङ्गत्यागो भैक्षमनेकवारण्य
वासो ब्राह्ममाभ्यन्तरं च शौचम् ।

Kaut. I. 3.12.

For a hermit see p. 99, f. n. 1 above.

⁵ McCrindle, 'Ancient India,' pp. 98 ff.

⁶ प्रशीर्षं च पुष्पफलं देवकार्याय श्रीहि यजमानप्रदणार्थं श्रोत्रिश्वास्तपस्विश्चाहरेयुः ।
राशिमूलमुञ्चयुत्तयः ।

Kaut. II. 23.41-42.

⁷ McCrindle, p. 74. Frag. XXVIII.

posture were regarded as *Abrahmaṇa* (not fulfilling the duties of a *Brāhmaṇa*).¹ Dinner etiquette required that the servers should not partake of the meals while the guests were eating.²

The meal of a gentleman, according to Kauṭilya, consisted of one *prastha* of pure unbroken rice, one fourth of a *prastha* of pulses, one sixty-fourth part of a *prastha* of salt and one sixteenth part of a *prastha* of clarified butter or oil. For menial-servants the quantity of pulses prescribed is one sixth of a *prastha* and the quantity of oil or clarified butter half of that prescribed for a gentleman. He lays down that women should be provided with three fourths of the above quantities and children only half of what is prescribed for a gentleman.³ Bran was given to blacksmiths and labourers and broken pieces of rice to slaves, servants and cooks who cooked soups, rice and cakes.⁴ The rice used by the king was so highly polished that only five parts of polished rice were considered edible by a king out of twenty parts of unhusked rice.⁵

Greek writers attribute the good health of Indians to simplicity of their food and abstinence from wine.⁶ They state that the physicians lived frugally on rice and meal which were freely supplied by the masses.⁷

The *Mahābhāṣya* gives two words for invitation, *Niman-*

¹ *Patañjali* on II. 2.6.

² ब्राह्मणा भोज्यन्ताम्, मादरको इदिव्यो परिविविष्टाम् इति न इवान्ती भुञ्जन्ते ।

Patañjali I. 1.2. p. 28.L. 14.

³ अन्नं परिशुद्धानां वा लण्डुनां प्रस्यः । चतुर्भागः सूपः सूपोद्धतो लवणस्यान्नः चतुर्भागः सपिण्डस्यैव वा एकस्यार्धमन्नम् । प्रस्यः अन्नभागः सूपः अन्नस्यैव ह्रस्वराणाम् । पादोनं स्वीणाम् । अर्धं बालानाम् ।

Kaut. II. XV. 61-65.

20 rice grains = 1 *dharaṇa*
10 *dharaṇa* = 1 *palā* = 25 *ratīs*
112½ *palās* = 1 *prastha* = about 29 tolas.

⁴ Here the ideal laid down in the *Smṛtis*, that the same food should be served to the servants which the householder takes himself, is not adhered to. This statement of Kauṭilya possibly reflects the actual state of affairs.

अङ्गारास्तुषांस्तोदुकमन्तिभित्तिलेप्यानां हारयेत् । कणिका रासकर्मकरसूपकाराणां मतोऽप्यदीनिकापूपिकेभ्यः प्रयच्छेत् ।

Kaut. II. 13. 80-81.

⁵ पञ्चदशेण शाजीनाम् पञ्चकम् रात्राम् ।

Kaut. II. 13.60.

⁶ *Nearchus Frag.* XV., *Strabo* XV E. 706.

⁷ *Strabo* Sec. LX.

traya and *Āmantraya*. The former was an invitation to take food at sacrifices or a *śrāddha*, the acceptance of which was obligatory. If rejected, without a proper cause, it involved a sin while the latter was a friendly invitation and could be rejected freely.¹ Invitations were generally extended to members of one's own caste.² There were some Brāhmanas who did not accept invitation to obsequial dinners.³ In certain feasts, only one food preparation was served; for example only *Vatakas* were served on a particular full moonday.⁴ In Patañjali's time boiled rice was considered a decent dish to feast Brāhmanas and friends.⁵ There were some persons who ate only rice⁶ while in the Sālva country (Alwar-Bikaner region) people were fond of *Yavāgṛā*.⁷

To conclude, we may note some new features in the food habits during this period. Only two crops are mentioned in the Sūtras but Kauṭilya mentions a third one, mainly consisting of pulses. Some new cereals such as *śāraka* and *varaka* were used and wheat became more popular. To the pulses pea and *rājamaṣa* seem to have been the new additions. Some new vegetables such as *sūraṇa* and *Kovidāra* flowers and fruits such as pomegranates, and grapes were used. For seasoning some new spices coriander, cardamom and cloves were used but oil was still considered exotic as its sale by Brāhmanas is interdicted. Onions were mostly used by non-vegetarians. People in the hills as stated above, were mostly non-vegetarians. Perhaps there was now a much greater variety of intoxicating drinks and some people took food in a standing posture probably as a result of contact with the foreign elements which had entered India during the period.

¹ एवं कृतं हि यन्निद्योगतः कर्तव्यं शस्त्रिमन्त्रणम् ।

Patañjali III. 1.161. p. 165 L.1,13-15.

² अन्वयस्यम् इवे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयन्तः ।

Patañjali VIII. 1.14. p. 370L. 19.

³ सन्धाहभोजी शङ्खनः ।

Patañjali III.2. 80. p. 109. L.19.

⁴ अटकिनी रीर्णमाही ।

Patañjali V. 2. 82. p. 388. L.20.

⁵ Patañjali on I. 1.72. and I. 1.82.

⁶ मोदरं भोजकः ।

Patañjali on II. 3.70.

⁷ Patañjali on VII. 3.69.

SECTION 2 (THE EPICS AND THE MANUSMṚITI)

There is wide divergence of opinion among scholars about the date of epics. Dr. Winternitz, for instance, says, 'The Mahābhārata cannot have received the present form earlier than fourth century B.C. and later than fourth century A.D.'¹ But no student of the social aspects of ancient history can afford to neglect the vast material provided by the two epics. Hence, it is proposed to study the conditions relating to food habits in this period in a separate section. A word may also be said for the inclusion of Manusmṛiti material in this section. Dr. V.S. Sukthankar, as a result of his researches, had come to the conclusion that most probably the credit of shaping the Mahābhārata into the present form belongs to the Bhārgavas and according to a tradition the Manusmṛiti is the ancient code of Manu as communicated to mankind by Bhṛgu. It is also recognized that there is an intimate connection between the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛiti. The opinions of Manu have been frequently cited in the Mahābhārata. All this evidence points to the conclusion that the Mahābhārata in its present form, with all the didactic material in the Sānti and the Anuśāsana Parvas, and the Manusmṛiti may be regarded as contemporary works.²

CEREALS AND PULSES

In the epics, the food has been classified into four varieties, hard food, soft food, preparations which are sucked and food stuffs which could be licked such as honey.³ Rice appears to be the staple foodgrain in Ayodhyā as well as in the land of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas.⁴ Of the rice preparations, parched rice,

¹ Winternitz—H.L.L., p. 465.

² Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata. Epic Studies VI. (Sukthankar Memorial Edition) 1944, pp. 334-335. Dr. Sukthankar puts the order of the composition as original Bhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.

Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata, pp. 336-337.

³ भक्ष्यं भोज्यं च चोष्यं च लेह्यं च विविधं द्रवम् ।

Rama. Ay. 91-20.

भक्ष्यंभोज्येदच रसवद्भिर्महाधनैः ।

Mbh. Adi. 222.79.

लेह्यं चोष्यं च पेयं च हृद्यं स्वादु मनोहरम् ।

Mbh. Sabha. 8.6.

⁴ जालितशूलसम्पूर्णमिक्षुकापहरसोदकात् ।

Rama. Bal. 5.17.

boiled rice, milk rice, *Kṛsara* and *Sarkullī* were the most common.¹ Of the barley preparations groats, *Yavāguḥ*, *Dhānāḥ*, *Yāvaka* and *Apāḥpa* continued to be popular.² *Vātya* was a gruel prepared

- शस्तकूटाश्च दृश्यन्ते बहवः पर्वतोपमाः ।
Rama. Bal. 14.11.
 उष्णाद्यस्योन्नस्यान् राशयः पर्वतोपमाः ।
Rama. Bal. 33.3.
 पुष्पध्वजवतीः पूर्णाः सुक्लस्वाश्रयं चाभितः ।
Rama. Ay. 91.68.
 ओदनं कुम्भशः कृत्वा पुरोधाः समुपाहरत्, क्षुमनोभिः विविधाभिरपूरैः कृत्तरेण च ।
Mbh. Asv. 65.12.
¹ *Lājā* (parched rice)
 इक्षूश्च मधुलाजाश्च भोजयन्तिस्मवाहनान् ।
Rama. Ay. 91.56.
 क्षुमनोभिर्य विविधाभिर्लक्षणाश्चैरपि ।
Mbh. Asv. 65.5.
Odana (boiled rice)—*Rama Bal. 35.3, Mbh. Asv. 65.12.*
Pāyasa (milk rice)—
 पायसं कृत्तरं छागं वृथा सोक्षतातु निष्पृणः ।
Rama. Ay. 75.30.
 पायसं कृत्तरं मांसमपूयाश्च वृथा कृताः ।
Mbh. Santi. 36.33.
Kṛsara—*Rama. Ay. 75.30, Mbh. Santi. 36.33, Santi. 36.33, Asv. 65.12.*
 यावकं कृत्तरं मांसं क्षण्कुली पायसं तथा ।
Mbh. Anu. 161.43.
Sarkullī—*Mbh. Anu. 161.43.*
² *Yava* (barley)
 ते यवाणा जन्तवदागोधूमान्नास्तथैव च,
 तान् देशान् संश्रदिष्यन्ति युगा ते पर्वपस्थिते ।
Mbh. Van. 190.44.
C.f. Mbh. Anu. 88.3.
Yavāguḥ—
 सुक्षृतं पायसे दूयाद्यवाग्न्यां कृत्तरे तथा ।
Mbh. Santi. 193.14.
 संस्कुलं पायसे नित्यं यवागूं कृत्तरं हविः ।
Anu. 162.51.
Yāvaka—*Mbh. Santi. 36.33, Anu. 161.43.*
Apāḥpa—
 रसात्तापूपकादिचवान् मोदकानयखाण्डवान् ।
Mbh. Anu. 55.18.
Mbh. Santi. 36.55; Asv. 65.12.
Sakta—
 कणकुम्भापिपिष्ठाकषाकयावकस्तवः ।
Mbh. Santi. 36.53,
C.f. Mbh. Santi. 215.22; Anu. 161.91.
Karambha—*Mbh. Santi. 36.53.*

with parched barley.¹ Wheat preparations were not so common.²

Some inferior grains such as *Kodrava* were probably eaten by the poor.³ Of the pulses besides *Māṣa* and *Mudga*, *Kulattā* (horsegram) and gram (*Canaka*) had come into use.⁴ The Rāmāyana also mentions a foodgrain called *Bhadraṅka*; probably it is an inferior grain known as *Bhadain* near Banaras.⁵ *Kulmāṣa*, besides wild rice and broken pieces of rice, was the food of the poor and the ascetics.⁶

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Besides foodgrains milk formed an important item of food.⁷ The Brāhmanas were not allowed to drink milk of sheep, mare, asses, camels, deer, women, and a cow which had recently calved.⁸ Milk-rice continued to be a favourite preparation. Honey was

¹ *Dhānāḥ*—Mbh. Karṇa. 44.11.

धाना गौक्षस्य पीत्वा सोमांश्च लघुनैः सह ।

अधुपनात्तवाद्यानामाशिनः शीलवज्रिताः ।

Mbh. Karṇa. 44.11.

² *Godhūma* (wheat)—Mbh. Van. 190.44.

³ मश्राद्भक्षानि धान्यानि कीदृशाः पुलकास्तथा ।

Mbh. Anu. 91.38.

⁴ चणकाको कुलत्थानां माषाणां लवणस्य च ।

अतोऽधुन रूपं स्नेहं च गन्धं संक्षिप्तमेव च ।

Rama. Ut. 91.20.

Sāpa (cooked pulses) मृष्टान्नानि च सुपाश्च दधिकुल्यास्तदेव च ।

Rama. Bal. 53.3.

C.f. Manu. III. 226.

⁵ शासि वाहसहस्रं च द्वे शते भद्रवत्तथा ।

Rama. Ay. 32.20.

⁶ कणकुलमापिष्ठाकशाकयावकसक्तवः ।

तथा मूलफलं भक्ष्यं पर्यायिणोपयोजयेत् ।

Mbh. Santi. 215.22.

C.f. Mbh. Santi. 36.33.

⁷ Rama. Ay. 91.73; Mbh. Anu. 136.9.

⁸ एडकाश्च खरोष्ट्रीणां सूतिकान्तो यवामपि ।

मानुषीणां मृगीणां च न पिबेद् ब्राह्मणः पयः ।

Mbh. Santi. 36.25.

Manu prohibits the use of milk of a cow whose milk was not allowed by the Sūtras:—

शंभु गन्धं च पेयं प्रयत्नेन विकर्जयेत् । ६

शनिर्दंशायाः गोः क्षीरमोक्षं सैकशफं तथा ।

माविकं तन्निनीक्षीरं विवत्सायाश्च गोः पयः । ८

आरण्यानां च सर्वेषां मृगाणां माह्विषं विना

क्षीरक्षीरं चैव वर्ज्यानि सर्वशुक्तानि चैव हि ।

Manu. V. 6.9.

used to sweeten it and clarified butter to make it more tasteful.¹ Curds² and *Rasāilā*, the fine sweet preparation from them, were very popular.³ Buttermilk and clarified butter were also in common use.⁴ Manu lays down that curds and its preparations could be eaten even if they had turned sour.⁵

MEAT DIET

The Kṣatriyas generally took the meat of animals which they killed in hunting.⁶ Rāma and Bharata are said to have

¹ दिव्यपौयससन्पूणीं पात्रीं पत्नीमिव प्रियाम् ।

Rama, Bal. 16.15.

मोदकैः पायसेनाथ मांसैश्चोपहरेद् बलिम् ।

Mbh. Asv. 65.4.

साग्देत पायसेनैव मधुना मिथितेन च ।

Mbh. Sabha. 4.2.

C.f. Rama. Ay. 75.30, 91.72, 91.69, Mbh. Anu. 136.49, Santi. 36.33.

² मृष्टान्नानि च सुपाश्व दधिकुल्यास्तथैव च ।

Rama, Bal. 53.3.

घृतं दधि च साजार्दच दक्षिणावधामि पुष्कलाः ।

Rama, Ay. 3.16.

यावके दधि-दुग्धे च सावित्री क्षतशोन्विताम् ।

Mbh. Anu. 136.9.

Rama. Ay. 91.73, Mbh. Anu. 161.99, Asv. 35.39.

³ यौवनस्थस्य गौरस्य कपित्थस्य मुगन्धिनः ।

हृदः पूर्णा रसालस्य दध्नः श्वेतस्य चापरे ।

Rama. Ay. 91.73.

रसाला कर्दमा तद्योवभूवुर्भरतवर्ध ।

Mbh. Asv. 89.40.

अपवतकं सद्योषं चतुर्जतिगुडादिकं

सजोरकं रसालं स्यान्मज्जिका शिखरिणीः ।

Vaijyanti.

सद्योषम्—शुष्की पिप्पली मरिच युक्तम् ।

चतुर्जतिम्—एला लवङ्गं कनकोलं नाग पुष्पाणि ।

⁴ In the Rama, Ay. 91.73 the word *Kapittha* is used for butter milk.

Sarpi

दधि कुल्याश्च दधुः सपिशश्च हृदाम् जनाः

Mbh. Asv. 85.39.

Ajya—Mbh. Sabha. 4.2.

Rama. Ay. 3.16, Mbh. Anu. 136.4, Asv. 85.39.

⁵ दधि भक्ष्यं च शुकतेषु सर्वं च दधिसंभवम् ।

Manu. V. 10.

C.f. Manu. II. 59, III. 226.

⁶ क्षत्रियाणां तु यो दृष्टो विधिस्तमपि ने शृणु ।

वीर्येणोपाजितं मांसं यथामुज्ज्वलं दुष्मति ।

Mbh. Anu. 116.15.

taken the meat of various kinds of deer in the forest.¹ Meat cooked with rice was probably the favourite dish of Sitā.² Birds and fish were also eaten.³ The food of the Pāṇḍavas in the Kāmyāka forest consisted of many kinds of deer.⁴ The Kṣatriyas were not always in a position to offer it to gods so even unsanctified meat was allowed to them.⁵ Duryodhana also used to eat rice cooked with flesh.⁶ Damayanti asked her maid-servant to bring meat prepared by her husband.⁷ At the time of marriages many animals were killed and eaten.⁸

As for Brāhmaṇas we know that many animals were killed

न मे तत्र मनस्तापो न मन्पूर्हरिपुङ्गव
बाणुराभिश्च पाशैश्च कूटैश्च विविधैर्नराः । ३७
शान्तिं राजर्षयश्चात्र नृगयां धर्मकोविदाः । ४०

Rama. Ay. 18. ५7.40

¹ त्री तत्र हत्वा बभूवुरी महामुगान् वराहमुष्यं पृषत् महाहरम्
भावाय मेघ्यं श्वरितं बुभुक्षितौ वासाय काले ययतुर्वनस्पतिम् ।

Rama. Ay. ५2.102.

² सुरा घटसहस्रेण मांसभूक्षोदनेन च ।
यस्यै त्वां प्रीयतां देवि पुरीं पुनरुपगता ।

Rama. Ay. ५३.89.

³ भूतपिच्छोपमान् स्फूर्णास्तान् द्विजान् भक्षयिष्यथ ।
रोहितांश्चक्रतुण्डाश्च नलसीतांश्च राघव ।

Rama. Aran. 73.12.

गमनाय मतिं चक्रे तं प्रोवाच सरस्वती
न गन्तव्यमितः पुत्र तवाहारमहं सदा । ३६।
वास्यामि मत्स्यप्रवरानुप्यतामिह भारत ।
दत्तयुक्तस्तर्पयामास स पितृन् देवतास्तथा । ४०।

Mbh. Śalya. ५1.39-40.

⁴ वानेयं च मृगाश्चैव शुद्धवोर्षीनिपातितान् ।
ब्राह्मणानां निवेशाग्रमभूजन् पुरुषर्षभाः । ४४।
रुरुन् कृष्णमृगाश्चैव मेघ्यादिवायान् वने चरान् ।
वाणैरुन्मथ्य विविधैर्बाह्मणैर्भ्यो न्यवेदयत् । ७।

Mbh. Van. ५०.7.

⁵ Mbh. Anu. 116.1५, see p. 105, f. n. 6.

⁶ श्राक्छादयसि प्राचरानश्नासि पिसितीदनम् ।
अजाने यावदहृत्यश्वः केनासि हरिणः कृवाः ।

Mbh. Sabha. 49.9.

⁷ पुनर्गच्छ प्रमतस्य बाहुकस्योपसंस्कृतम् ।
महामताघ्नितं मातनानस्वेह भाक्षिनि ।

Mbh. Van. 7५.20.

⁸ उज्जावचान् मृगान् जघ्मर्षेयान् च शतशः पशून् ।
सुरामेरेषवानानि प्रभूताव्यव्यहारयन् ।

Mbh. Virat. 72.28.

at the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira.¹ In the palace of Rantideva, it is said, two thousand animals were killed every day and the meat was distributed probably to the Brāhmaṇas.² The Pāṇḍavas offered the meat of animals to Brāhmaṇas.³ On the occasion of a Śrāddha Brāhmaṇas were generally fed with meat diet.⁴ All this shows that a considerable section of this community had no objection to taking nonvegetarian diet. People belonging to other castes, as well, used meat, for it is said to be the food of the rich. The shop of a meat vendor was crowded by a number of purchasers.⁵ But persons observing a vow generally avoided meat diet.⁶

Some other people, who were outside the Aryan influence,

¹ तं तं देवं समुद्दिश्य पक्षिणः पशवश्च ये ।
ऋषयः शास्त्रपठितास्तथा जलचराश्च ये ।
सर्वैस्तान्ममयुजस्ते तत्राग्निबलकर्मणि ।

Mbh. Asv. 34.38.

मद्वेषाण्डवराणां कियतां भुज्यतां तथा
पशूनां सध्वतां चैव नान्तं ददृशिरं जनाः ।

Mbh. Asv. 41.89.

² ग्रहन्ग्रहनिषध्यते द्वे सहस्रे गवां तथा ।
स मांसं ददतोऽहम् रन्तिदेवस्य नित्ययः ।

Mbh. Van. 208.9.

³ Mbh. Van. 30.7. See p. 106, f. n. 4.

⁴ होमासी तु भवेत् तृप्तिर्मत्स्यं पितृगणस्य ह ।
भीमासानां विकेनाद्भुतमुमांसं पाशेन ह । १ ।
आर्जेत मासान् प्रीयन्ते पञ्चैव पितरो नृप ।
वाराहेण तु दम्भासान् सप्त वै साकुलेन तु । ६ ।
मासानपटौ पार्षतेन रोरवेण नव प्रभौ ।
शवपस्य तु मांसेन तृप्तिः स्याद्दशमसिफी । ७ ।

आनन्त्याय भवेद्दत्तं खड्गमांसं पितृभ्यो । १० ।

Mbh. Anu. 88. 3-10.

⁵ आङ्घ्र्यानां मांसं परमं मध्यानां गौरलोत्तरम् ।
तैलोत्तरं दरिद्राणां भोजनं भरतर्षभ ।

Mbh. Udyoga. 49-34.

अपश्यत् तत्र गत्वा तं सुनामध्वं व्यवस्थितम् । १० ।
मार्गनाहिपमांसानि विक्रीणन्तं तपस्विनम् ।
आकुलत्वाच्च क्लेशामेकान्ते संस्थितौ द्विजः ।

Mbh. Van. 207. 10-11.

⁶ न मांसं रोषवो भुञ्जते न चैव मधु तेवले ।
वर्ण्यं मुनिहितं नित्यं भवतमश्नातिपञ्चमम् ।

Rama. Sundara 36.41.

अन्दमूलफलजीवन् हिंसा मुनिबदामिषम्

Rama. Ayo. 20.29.

were very fond of meat preparations. They indulged in unrestricted use of them. We read of so many nonvegetarian dishes in the kitchen of Ravana while Hidimba relished human flesh.¹

Besides meat roasted on spits, sometimes whole animals were roasted on live charcoals.² Meat soup was very popular.³ Sometimes it was prepared with the addition of curds and salt.⁴ Meat cooked with rice was a favourite dish of some people.⁵ Seasoned meat was also taken. Guha offered it to Bharata; but its daily use is not recommended.⁶

The notion of clean and unclean meat was fully developed in this period.⁷ The three upper classes are allowed only clean

¹ मृगाणां महिषाणां च वराहाणां च भागशः ।
तत्र न्यस्तानि मांसानि पातभूमौ ददर्श सः ॥११॥
रौनभेषु च विशालेषु भाजनेष्वर्धभक्षितान् ।
ददर्श हरिषां बलौ मयूरान् कुक्कुडांस्तथा ॥१२॥
वराहवांश्चगिरिकान् दधिसीवचलायुतान् ।
शल्यान् मृगमयूराश्च हनुमानन्ववेक्षत ॥१३॥

Rama. Sundara. 11. 11-13.

भक्षयित्वा च मांसानि मनुष्याणां प्रकाशतः ।
नृत्वा च सहितावावां दत्ततालावनेकशः ॥

Mbh. Adi. 152.15.

² See p. 106, f. n. 3 Rama. Arana. 73.12, Rama. Ay. 52.88.

³ शालैश्चापि वाराहैर्निष्ठान् वरं लब्धवैः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.67.

प्रतप्तपिठरैश्चापि मार्गमायूरकौतुकटैः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.71.

महिषानेकशल्याश्च छायांश्च कृतनिष्ठितान् ।

Rama. Sundara. 11.14.

स्यातेमनं तु निष्ठानम्

Amars. Vaisya. 44.

⁴ Rama. Sund. 11.13. (see p. 108, f. n. 1).

⁵ See p. 106, f. n. 2 and 6.

⁶ मार्यं च मांसं शुष्कं वर्णं चोच्चावचं महत् ।

Rama. Ay. 84.17.

वर्जयेच्छुष्कमांसं च तथा पर्युषितं च यत् ।

Mbh. Anu. 61.98.

⁷ बहून् मेघान् मृगान् हत्वा चेरतुर्यमुनजने ।

Rama. Ay. 55.33.

इदं मेघ्यमिदं स्वादु निष्ठतमिदमग्निना ।

Rama. Ay. 91.2.

विधिना वेद दूष्यते तद् भुक्तवेह न दुष्यति ।

यत्तार्थं पशवः सृष्टा इत्यपि ध्रूयते धृतिः ।

Mbh. Anu. 111.14.

meat. The flesh of porcupine, hare and tortoise was considered clean.¹ Brāhmanas are advised to avoid the flesh of many unclean animals.² Those who took beef or flesh of dogs were looked down upon in society.³ Even dealing in meat is considered improper.⁴ Some Brāhmanas completely avoided meat diet while others took only dedicated meat.⁵ But to save life use of even unclean meat was permitted.⁶ In some verses of the Mahābhārata it is laid down that animals should be killed only for sacrifices.⁷ But later it is said that animals should not be killed even in sacrifices and only food grains should be offered instead.⁸ Now the ideal was that all those who wish to lead a

¹ पञ्च पञ्चनखा मध्या इन्द्रक्षत्रेण राघव ।

शल्यकः स्वाविधो गोधा शशः कूर्मश्च पञ्चनखः ।

Rama. Kisk. 17.39.

² अन्नद्वान् मृत्तिका चैव तथा क्षुद्रपिपीलिकाः ।

इलेष्मातकस्तथा विप्रैरभक्ष्यं विषमेव च ।

अभक्ष्या ब्राह्मणैर्मत्स्याः शर्करायेवं विवर्जिताः ।

चतुष्पात् कच्छपादस्यो मधूका जलजाश्च ये ।

.....

कस्यादा इन्द्रिणः सर्वे चतुष्पात् पक्षिणश्च ये ।

येषां क्षीमयती दन्ताश्चतुर्दन्दाश्च सर्वशः । २४

Mbh. Santi. 36. 21-24.

³ Beef—Mbh. Karna. 44-11 See p. 104, f. n. 1.

स्वमांसं निवला हाराः मुष्टिका नाम निर्घृणाः ।

Rama. Bal. 39.19.

⁴ लाक्षया मधुमासेन लोहितं च विषेण च ।

सदैव विभृणाद् भूत्यान् यस्याप्यनुमते गतः ।

Rama. Ay. 71-38.

⁵ King Brahmadatta was cursed by a Brāhmaṇa for serving him food mixed with meat dishes.

Rama. Uttara. 39.

सप्रोक्षितं वृक्षामांसं विविहीनं न भक्षयेत् ।

Mbh. Anu. 113-44.

⁶ शुभ्रात्तावधमं श्वानं प्रयदन्ति मनीषिणः ।

तस्याप्यधमं उद्देशः शरीरस्य श्वराघनी ।

Mbh. Santi. 141.57.

तस्यै च श्वमृगीसन्त्ये तस्माद् भोक्ष्ये श्वराघनी ।

Mbh. Santi. 141-57.

मूलं रक्ष्यं भक्षयिष्याम्यभक्ष्यम् ।

Mbh. Santi. 141.79.

⁷ Mbh. Anu. 111.14 see p. 108, f. n. 7.

⁸ दीर्घयज्ञेषु यष्ट्यमिलि वैदिकी क्षुतिः ।

अथ संज्ञानि बीजानि छात्रानि नो ग्रहैश्च ।

Mbh. Santi. 337-3.

virtuous life should avoid meat diet.¹

In the Manusmṛti we find three views about the use of meat. In some of its portions we find a conditional permission for the use of meat. It could be consumed when the animal was killed for Brāhmanas.² Animal food was to be used also in *madhu-parika*, sacrifices, Śrāddhas and worshipping gods.³ In the Śrāddhas specially the use of meat seems to have been common for we are given various periods upto which the fore-fathers remain satisfied with fish and the flesh of goats, gazelles, kids, spotted deer, black antelope, *mark* deer, boars, buffaloes, hares, tortoises, *vārdbrīṣa*, rhinoceros and birds.⁴ But, as in the Aśokan edicts, there is a list of animals and birds whose flesh was

¹ रूपमथ कृतमायुर्बुद्धिः शतम् बलम् स्मृतिम्
प्राप्तकामेन रंहिता वज्रिता वै महात्मभिः।

Mbh. Santi. 337-8.

² प्रोक्षितं भक्षयेन्मांसं ब्राह्मणानां च काम्यया।
वयविविव नियुक्तस्तु प्राणानामेव चात्तवे।

Manu. V. 27.

³ यज्ञाय ब्राह्मणैर्वध्वाः प्रकृता मृगपक्षिणः।
भूत्यार्चनां चैव वृक्षैर्मगस्तथो ह्यश्वत्थं पुरा।२२।
बभूवुर्हि पुरोडासा भक्षयणा मृगपक्षिणाम्।
पुराणेष्वपि गन्धेषु ब्रह्मलनसत्त्वेषु च।२३।
प्राणस्थानमिदं सर्वं प्रजापतिरकल्पयत्।
स्थावरं जङ्गमं चैव सर्वं प्राणस्य भोजनम्।२४।
यज्ञाय जग्धिर्मंससर्वेषु देवो विधिः स्मृतः।
प्रतीक्षया प्रवृत्तिस्तु राक्षसो विधिरुष्यते।२५।
मधुपर्कं च खरो च पितृदेवतकर्मणि
सर्वेव पशवो हिंसा नाप्यवेत्यश्वीयान्।२६।
एवमर्थेषु पशून् हिंसा वेदतत्त्वार्थविद् द्विजः।
ब्राह्मणं च पशुं चैव गमयत्युत्तमाम् गतिम्।२७।

Manu. V. 22, 23, 28, 31, 41-42

⁴ ऋ मासौ मत्स्य मांसेन वीणमासान् हारिणं तु।
श्रीरश्मिणस्य चतुरः शकुनेनाथ पञ्च वै।२६८।
पण्मासांश्छागमांसेन पापतेन च सप्त वै।
अष्टावेणस्य मांसेन रोरवेण नवैवतु।२६९।
दशमासांस्तु तुष्यन्ति वराहमहिषमिवः।
शशकूर्मयोस्तु मांसेन मासानेकादशैव तु।२७०।
संशतरं तु गव्येन पयसा पापतेन च।
वाध्रीणस्य मांसेन सुप्तिर्द्विषावापिकी।२७१।
कालशाकमहाशल्वाः शङ्ख लोहामिषं मधु।
प्राणन्त्यायैव कल्पन्ते मृत्युप्राप्तिं च सर्वथा।२७२।

Manu. III. 268-272.

to be avoided.¹ Students were generally not allowed meat diet.² Then there are portions of the Manusmṛiti in which meat eating is completely prohibited as it involved killing of animals.³ Meat is called the diet of Rākṣasas.⁴ The third view in the Manusmṛiti strikes a compromise between the two extremes for we are told that meat eating is a natural craving of men but its avoidance brings great merit.⁵ According to Buhler the rules against the use of meat diet are a later interpolation but it would be perhaps more proper to say that these new rules came in imperceptibly with the change in the outlook of the people as a result of the teachings of the Buddha, Mahāvīra and perhaps also Aśoka.

- ¹ कन्यादाञ्छकुलान् सर्वास्तथा ग्रामनिवासिनः।
अनिदिष्टास्त्वैकशफादिद्रुमं च विवर्जयेत्।११।
कलविष्णुप्लवं हंसं वक्राह्वं ग्रामकुक्कुटम्।
सारसं रज्जुवालं च दातृहृत् क्षुकसारिके।१२।
प्रतुवान् जालपादाश्च कौबन्दि नखकिष्किरान्।
निमज्जतश्च मत्स्यादान्धौनं गल्लूरमेव च।१३।
वक्रं चैव वलाकाश्च काकोलं खज्जरीटकम्।
मत्स्यान् विश्वराह्वाश्च मत्स्यानेव च सर्वशः।१४।
यो यस्त्वं मांसमश्नाति स तन्मांसद उच्यते।
मत्स्यादः सर्वमांसविस्तस्मान् मत्स्यान् विवर्जयेत्।१५।
पाटीनरोहितावधौ तिसृक्तो हव्यकव्ययोः
राजीवान् सिंहतुण्डाश्च शशकाश्च सर्वशः।१६।
श्वाधिष्ठं शल्यकं गोधौ शङ्खं कूर्मं शशांस्तथा।
भक्ष्यान् पञ्चनखेष्वाहुरनुष्टौ शूचैकतोयतः।१७।

Manu. V. 11-18.

- ² ब्राह्मचारी तु योऽश्नीयान्मधुमांसं कथञ्चन।

Manu. XI. 158.

- ³ नाकृत्वा प्राणिनां हिंसा मांसमुत्पद्यते क्वचित्
न च प्राणिवधः स्वर्ग्यस्तस्यान् मांसं विवर्जयेत्।

Manu. V. 48.

- कर्णे श्वर्षपवेधेन यो यजेत शतं समाः।
मांसानि च न खादेद्यस्तयोः पुण्यफलं तमम्।

Manu. V. 35.

- ⁴ यक्ष रक्षः पिशाचाश्च नयं मांसं सुरासवम्
तद् ब्राह्मणेन नात्तव्यम् देवानामश्नता हविः।

Manu. V. 93.

- ⁵ न मांसं भक्षणे दोषो न मद्ये न च मय्युने।
प्रवृत्तिरेषा भूतानां निवृत्तिस्तु महाफला।

Manu. V. 36.

HONEY AND SWEETS

Honey continued to be used especially with parched rice.¹ But its daily use is interdicted.² Sugarcane was used in making *guda* which was used in the preparation of many sweets.³ Another product of sugarcane juice in common use was sugar both clarified and raw.⁴ Common sweets were *apāpa*, *pāyasa* (milk-rice), *saṁyāva*, *kersara*, *madhulājāḥ* and *modakas* (sweet balls).⁵ Some good quality sweets are called *Khāṇḍava* and *Uccānarabhakṣya* in the epics.⁶

¹ इक्षुन् मधुस्तया लाजान् मेरेयांसि वरासवान् ।

Rama. Bal. 53.2.

मांसप्रतिग्रहे चैव मधुनो लवणस्य च ।

Mbh. Anu. 136.5.

See p. 103, f. n. 1.

² दधिसक्नुन् दोषायां विवेकयु च नित्यतः ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.99.

³ *Japa*—Rama. Bal. 53.2, Ay. 91.56. Mbh. Anu. 136.8.

भोजनानि सुपूर्णानि गौडानि च सहस्रशः ।

Rama. Bal. 53.4.

विविधानि च गौडानि खाण्डवानि तथैव च ।

Rama. Uttara. 92.12.

⁴ *Sarkara*

वन्धुः पयसश्चान्ये शर्कराणां च संक्षयः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.73.

⁵ *Apāpa*—See p. 103, f. n. 2.

Pāyasa—See p. 103, f. n. 1.

Samyāva—See p. 103, f. n. 2.

Kersara—See p. 103, f. n. 1.

Madhulājāḥ—*Ibid.*

Modaka—

नरा मोदकहस्ताश्च राजस्य पुरतो ययुः ।

Rama. Yuddha. 131.38.

रसालापूपकाश्चिन्मन् मोदकानय खाण्डवान् ।

Mbh. Anu. 53.18.

Rama. Bal. 10. 19-20.

Modakas were generally prepared with rice or wheat flour fried in clarified butter mixed with sugar, some aromatic spices and thin slices of the kernel of cocoanut.

⁶ *Khāṇḍava*

नाना स्वादुरक्षानां च खाण्डवानां तथैव च ।

Rama. Bal. 53.4.

विविधानि च गौडानि खाण्डवानि तथैव च ।

Mbh. Anu. 53.18.

भक्ष्य खाण्डवरागाणां त्रियतां भुज्यतां तथा ।

Mbh. Asv. 41.89.

Uccānarabhakṣya—Rama Bal. 53.2, Ay. 61.14, Kisk. 33.7, 37.7, Sundara.

SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

It appears that besides ordinary salt, *sauvarcala*, *viḍa* and black salt were in common use, but the use of *viḍa* and black salt is interdicted in a Śrāddha.¹ It is laid down that a Brāhmaṇa should not deal in salt² and people should avoid eating salt in the palms of their hands or at night.³ Other articles used for seasoning food were pepper, cumin, asafoetida, aloes, nutmeg and probably also coriander, mustard and ginger.⁴ They were also used in preparing a stuffing (*vesavāra*).⁵ It appears that two condiments, *Sāpa*, and *Niṣṭhāna*, which were prepared with fruit juices, were very much liked in Ayodhyā.⁶

OILSEEDS AND OILS

Sesamum continued to be used as an offering to the fore-

¹ *Sauvarcala*—Rama. Sundara. 11.13.

कृष्णाजाली विद्वन्नेव वर्जयेत्तद्वर्णं सर्वम् ।

Mbh. Anu. 91.41.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 91.39.

² सुराजवर्णमिषेव तिलान् केसरिणः पशून्

एतेषां विजलातात् ब्राह्मणो नरकं व्रजेत् ।

Mbh. Santi. 78.4-5.

³ न पाणौ लवणं विद्वान् प्राश्नीयात् च रात्रिषु ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.99.

⁴ Pepper (*marica*)

पुष्पाणि च तमालस्य गुरूनि मरिचस्य च ।

Rama. Aranya. 35.22-23.

Cumin (*ajīr*)—Mbh. Anu. 91. 39-41.

Asafoetida (*Hingra*)

हिगु इष्येणु साकेषु पलाय्यं लघुनं तथा ।

Mbh. Anu. 91.38.

Aloes (*agru*)—अगुरुणां च मुख्यानां वनान्युपवनानि च ।

तन्कोलानां च जाल्यानि फलानां च सुगन्धितानि ।

Rama. Aranya. 25.22.

Pinanga (nāgakesara in Hindi) Rama. Uttara 42.33.

Nutmeg (*jāṭi*) Rama. Aranya. 25.22.

⁵ वेसवारविकारांश्च पानकानि लघूनि च ।

Mbh. Anu. 53.17.

⁶ फलनिर्घृष्टसिद्धैः सूपैर्वन्धरत्नान्वितैः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.67.

भुक्त्वा विशालाक्षी सूपदंशान्वितम् शुभम् ।

वन्द्यं तैवारमाहारं कथं सौतोपभोक्ष्यते ।

Rama. Ay. 61.5.

fathers¹ and for extracting oil, which was used for frying food articles by poor people.² Oilcake was used as an article of food by the ascetics.³

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

From the epics we know that the hermits generally lived on fruits, roots and tubers.⁴ The fruits in common use in the forests were jujube, *kāśmārya*, *inguda* (*Terminalia catappa*), *bhallātaka* (marking nut), *plakṣa*, *aiyattha* and *pilu*.⁵ In the cities such as Ayodhya, *bilva*, *kapittha*, bread fruit, citrus fruit, emblic my-

¹ Mbh. Vana. 190.44.

पितृणां परमं भोज्यं तिलाः सृष्टाः स्वयंभुवा ।

तिलदानेन वै तस्मात् पितृपक्षः प्रमोदते ।

Mbh. Anu. 66.7.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 88.3, 68.18, 136.8, Santi. 345.16.

² Mbh. Udyoga. 49.34.

³ कणकुलमाषपिण्याकशाकयावकस्रवतवः ।

तथा मूलफलं भैक्ष्यं पर्वायिणोपयोजयेत् ।

Mbh. Santi. 215.22.

⁴ कन्दमूलफलैर्जीवन् हित्वा मुनिवदभिवम् ।

Rama. Ay. 20.29.

फलमूलाशनं नित्यं वानरं जनगोचरम् ।

Rama. Kisk. 17.25.

फलमूलं च ब्रुभुजे राशौ वतं राहानुजः ।

Mbh. Asrama. 26.38.

⁵ फलानि च विचित्राणि राजभोग्यानि भूरिशः ।

वदरेऽङ्गुवकाश्मर्यभल्लोत्तकफलानि च ।

Mbh. Anu. 33.19.

वदरेऽङ्गुवकाश्मर्यभल्लोत्तकविभीतकीः ।

कङ्करोलद्वय पलाशैश्च करीरैः पीलुभिस्तथा ।

Mbh. Salva. 37.61-62.

C.f. Mbh. Vana. 178.8.

Kāśmārya

काशमर्यरिष्टवहर्णमधूकैस्तिष्ठकैस्तथा ।

वदर्यामलकैर्नीपैर्वैतथन्दनबीजकैः ।

Rama. Ay. 94. 8-9.

Mbh. Anu. 33.19, Salva. 37. 61-62.

Inguda—Mbh. Salva 37. 61-62.

Vibhītaka—*Ibid.*

Plakṣa—Mbh. Salva. 37. 61-62.

Aiyattha—*Ibid.*

Pilu—*Ibid.*

Srīgāṇaka—

शङ्कराशस्तथा वज्रा इह भृंगादवानि च ।

Mbh. Anu. 91.41.

rohāṇa, plantain, rose apple, pomegranates and mangoes were used.¹ As stated before some of these fruits were used in preparing condiments.² Stalks and roots of lotus³ were used as vegetables with other vegetables such as long bottle gourd and *kovidāra*.⁴ From the Mahābhārata it appears that garlic, onions and mushrooms were not eaten by respectable persons.⁵ It lays down that a man desirous of glory should not eat the fruits of a fig tree, *pippala*, *vafa* and *udumbara* trees and the leaves

¹ *Bīḥa*—Rama. Ay. 91.30, 94.8, Mbh. Vana. 117.23, Salya. 37.63, Vana. 117.23.

Kapittā—Rama. Ay. 91.30.

Paṇasa (bread fruit)—Rama. Ay. 91.30.

Bījapitraka (citrus fruit)—Rama. Aranya 15.

Amalaka (emblic myroblan) Rama. Ay. 91.30.

Nārikela—Rama. Aranya. 35.

Kadalī—Plantain.

कदलीवन् भूमिष्ठं कान्तं मनोहरम् ।

शठम्बफलयणौदं दन्तोलूखलिकैरपि ।

Mbh. Salya. 37.64.

Rama. Kisk. 13, Mbh. Salya, 36.64, Rama. Aranya 1.2.

Jambhī—(rose apple)

आस्रजम् वसनैर्लोभ्रैः प्रियालैः पनसैः धवैः ।

सङ्कोलैर्मण्डितिनिर्जं बिल्वतिन्दुकवेषुभिः ।

Rama. Ay. 94.8.

जम्बुभिर्दण्डिर्मैश्चैव कोविदारैश्च शोभिताम्

Rama. Ut. 42.5.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 91.41.

Dāḍima (pomegranate)—Rama. Ut. 42.5.

Priyala—Mbh. Van. 40. 2-3, Ram. Ay. 98.8.

Mango (*Cāṭa*)

उद्यानास्रवणोपैताम् ।

Rama. Bal. V. 17.

तस्मिन् बिल्वाः कपिलधाश्च पनसा बीजपूरताः आमलक्योऽम्बुवृक्षं वृताश्च फलभूषणाः

Rama. Ay. 91.30.

Amrātaka कल्पकश्चैवैव बिल्वैराभ्रातकैस्ताप ।

अतिमूलकपण्डैश्च पारिजातैश्च शोभिताम् । १६१ ।

Mbh. Salya. 37.63.

Bhāṇya—Rama. Ay. 94. 8.

² See p. 113, f. n. 6.

³ देवस्य तीर्थे जलमग्निकल्पा विग्राह्य ते भुनक्तिस्त्रयसूताः । १७ ।

केचिद् बिरात्यज्जनस्तत्र राज्ञ्ये मृणाजान्यजनस्तत्रविश्राः । १८ ।

Mbh. Anu. 94. 7-8.

⁴ See p. 116, f. n. 2.

⁵ *Palāṅgha* (onions)—Mbh. Anu. 91.38.

Lasana (garlic)—Mbh. Anu. 91.38, Karma. 44.17.

Grījāna (red garlic)—Mbh. Anu. 91.39.

of hemp.¹ The use of long bottle gourd, *Kāśāśaka*, *Śleṣmātaka*, *sundarīana*, leaves of bamboo or *karīra* is interdicted in a *Śrāddha*.²

INTOXICATING DRINKS

From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we learn that drinking was common in Ayodhyā. After the departure of Rāma, the city has been compared to a tavern deserted by drunkards.³ The same inference can be deduced from the remark of Bharata on the absence of aroma of *Vāruṇī* after the death of Daśaratha.⁴ *Sītā* herself enjoyed *Maireyaka* variety of wine⁵ and promised to worship the river goddess with a thousand pitchers of wine.⁶ The non-Aryan tribes of the *Rākṣasas*⁷ and the *Vānaras* were, no doubt, addicted to drinking. The conditions described in the *Mahābhārata* are worse.⁸ Kṛṣṇa is said to have enjoyed drinking freely with Arjuna.⁹ We are told that the *Yādavas* were killed in a

¹ पिप्पलं च वटं चैव क्षणशकं तथैव च।

वहुञ्जरं न खादन्व भगवो गुरुषोत्तम।

Mbh. Anu. 161.97.

² *Kūjmaṇḍa* (pumpkin gourd) Mbh. Anu. 91.39.

Kāśāśaka—Mbh. Anu. 88.10.

Śleṣmātaka—Rama. Bal. 14, Mbh. Var. 134. 28.

सौभाग्यजनः कोविदारस्तथा गृञ्जनकादयः।

कूष्माण्ड जात्यलाबुञ्च कुणं लवणमेव च।

Mbh. 91.39.

निक्षेपे ह्यत्र कञ्चो वा महिलं च सुदर्शनम्।

Mbh. Anu. 91.42.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 91.41. See p. 114, f. n. 3.

³ क्षीणं पानोत्तमैर्भिर्भैः शराभैरभिसंयुताम्।

हतशौण्डिमिकाशो धानभूमिप्रसंस्कृताम्

Rama. Ay. 114.14.

⁴ वाक्प्रीमदगन्धश्च मांस्यगन्धश्च मुञ्चितः।

Rama. Ay. 114.20.

⁵ सीतामावाय हस्तेन मधुसूरेयकञ्चुलि।

Rama. Ut. 42.18.

⁶ सुराघटतहस्त्रेण मांसभूतीदमेन च

यक्ष्ये त्वां प्रीयतां देवि पुरीं पुनरुपागता।

Rama. Ay. 52. 89.

यक्ष्ये त्वांगोसहस्त्रेण सुराघटशतेन च।

Rama. Ay. 50.20.

⁷ Rama. Sundara. 11. 22-23.

⁸ Rama. Kiskindha. 30.79, 33.39, 33.7.

⁹ उभौ मध्यातवसीपावुनी चन्दनक्षिपौ।

Mbh. Udyoga. 39.5.

drinking brawl.¹ The Aśvamedha sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira has been compared to a sea of liquor.² Virtuous ladies, like Sudeṣṇā drank wine.³ Some of them drank so hard that they could not walk straight.⁴

But even the Kṣātriyas, who were so much addicted to drinking, regarded it as an evil. Daśaratha tells Kaikeyī that if he banished Rāma people would look down upon him as they look down upon a Brāhmaṇa who was addicted to drinking.⁵ Bharata also considers it a sin.⁶ Even dealing in liquor is considered improper for Brāhmaṇas.⁷ Drinking is frequently condemned⁸ and those who were accustomed to drinking liquor prepared from molasses were looked down upon in society.⁹

¹ मद्य प्रभृति सर्वेषु वृज्यन्मद्यकुलेष्विह ।
सुरासर्वो न कर्तव्यः सर्वैः नगरासिभिः ।

Mbh. Maus. 16.29.

² एवं बभूव यज्ञः स भर्तृराजस्य धीमतः ।
बह्वधनस्तनोषः सुरामैरेवसागरः ।

Mbh. Asv. 89.39.

³ उत्तिष्ठ गच्छ सैरन्निघ्न कीचकस्य निवेशनम् ।
पानमानय कल्पाणि पिपासा मां प्रबाधते ।

Mbh. Virat. 15.10.

⁴ स्त्रियश्च विपुलधोष्यश्चारीनपयोधराः ।
मदस्त्वलितनामिन्वस्त्रिक्रीडुर्वामलोचनाः ।

Mbh. Adī. 222.21.

⁵ विकरिष्यति रथ्यासु सुरारपं ब्राह्मणं यथा ।

Rama. Ay.

⁶ मद्ये प्रसक्तो भवतु, दस्मावोन्मुक्ते गतः ।

Rama. Ay. 75.41.

⁷ सुरालवणमित्येव तिलान् केसरिणः पबून ।
एतेषां विख्यात्तात्त ब्राह्मणो नरकं व्रजेत् ।

Mbh. Santi. 78. 4-5.

⁸ सुरापानं ब्रह्महत्या गुरुतल्पमवापि वा ।
अभिर्दंश्यानि मन्वन्ते प्राणान्तमितिधारणा ।

Mbh. Santi. 163.10.

यो ब्राह्मणोऽथ प्रभृतीह कश्चित् मोहान्तुरां पास्यति मन्दबुद्धिः ।
अपेक्षमां ब्रह्महा भव स स्वादस्मिन्लोके गहितः स्वात्यरे च ।

Mbh. Adī. 76. 67.

C.f. Mbh. Asv. 31.18, Santi. 163.10, 34.20.

⁹ Mbh. Karma. 44.11 See (7) above.

सुरा वैमलमन्त्रानां पाप्मा च मलमूच्यते ।
तस्माद् ब्राह्मणराजस्यो वैश्यश्च न सुरां पिबेत् ।
गौडी पेय्यो च माखी च विज्ञेया विविधा सुरा ।
यथैवेका तथा सर्वा न पातव्या द्विजोत्तमैः ।

Manu. XI. 94-95.

The Rāmāyaṇa mentions two varieties of *Surā* ordinary and the fermented one.¹ *Kilāla*² was also used in this period, but *Maireya* seems to be the most popular drink. It was the favourite drink of Sītā and was served to guests at a wedding,³ and by sage Bhāradvāja to the party of Bharata. *Vārūṣī* was prepared from the juice of plam fruits and dates and was a common drink in Ayodhyā, as Bharata was surprised to find the city without its aroma after the departure of Rāma to the forest.⁴ It was a very strong drink as it brought about unconsciousness as soon as it was drunk.⁵ *Āsava* was another intoxicating drink in which the main ingredients were *Kapittba* (*Feronia elephantum*), five hundred *palas* of *phāṇita* and one *prastba* of honey.⁶ Four varieties of *āsava* are mentioned—one prepared from flowers, the second from fruits, the third from honey and the fourth from sugar.⁷ An *āsava* in which *surā* was used in place of water was

¹ *Surā*—Rama. Ay. 52.89, 55.20, 91.21., Mbh. Mans. 16.29, Asv. 89.39, 11.18, Adl. 76.67, Santi. 78.4, 165.34, Virat. 15.7.

Kṛta surā (fermented *surā*)—Rama. Sundara 11.12.

दिव्याः प्रसन्ना निविधाः सुराः कृतसुरा अपि

शर्करासवमाञ्जीकाः पुष्पासवफलसवाः।

Rama. Sundara. 11.22-23.

Cream of *surā* is called *Madirā*. (Mbh. Sapti. 24.20).

² बीलाखनं न खादेयं करिष्वे चामुखतम्।

Mbh. Van. 257.17.

³ मैरेयमस्त्वमास्तानि पातकानि मधूनि च।

चित्रान् भक्षयविकारांश्च चक्षुस्तस्य यथा पुरा।

Mbh. Asrama, I. 21.

C.f. Rama. Ut. 42.18, Ay. 91.70, Mbh. Asv. 89.39, Virat. 72.28.

इवून् मधूस्तथा लाजान् मैरेयंश्च वरासवान्।

Rama. Bal. 53.2.

अन्याः स्रवन्तु मैरेयं सुरामन्याः सुनिष्किताम्।

Rama. Ay. 91.15.

मैरेयमासवो धात्री घातकी मृदवारिभिः।

Vaijayanṭi.

⁴ Rāmā Ay. 114.20 See p. 116, f.n. 4.

⁵ मां मोहयति दुष्टास्मां पीतमायेव क्षाणी।

Rama. Yuddha. 34.8.

⁶ See Ch. IV. Sec. 1, p. 96, f. n. 1.

⁷ *Puṣpāsava*—generally prepared from *Madhūka* flowers—Rama. Sund. 11.23, Mbh. Virat. 16.3, calls it *Madhūka*.

एहिद्वय मया सार्द्धं पिब मधु माधवीम्।

Mbh. Virat. 16.3.

See p. 118, f. n. 1.

Phalāsava—It was generally prepared from dates—Rama. Sund. 11.23.

called *Surāśava*.¹ The main ingredients of *Prasammā*² variety are twelve *āḍbakas* of flour, five *prasthas* of ferment with some spices and bark and fruit of *Putraka*. *Divyā* was prepared from the bark of *Kadamba* trees.³ *Siddhi*, which was the daily drink of the non-Aryans, was distilled from the juice of sugarcane and *dhātaki* flowers.⁴ Another strong drink was prepared with *Madbhāka* flowers.⁵

OTHER BEVERAGES

In the *Mahābhārata* water is considered to be the best of beverages.⁶ Drinking water was brought from some natural sources such as water-falls, springs or rivers.⁷ It was also brought from some artificial sources such as wells, reservoirs and tanks.⁸ Water, which had the fragrance of lotus, of rivers and which was clear, cool, health giving, and shining like silver, was considered good for drinking.⁹ It is laid down that

Madhvāśava—It was prepared from honey. *Ram. Sund.* 11.25, *Mbh. Udyoga*, 19.5.

Sarkarāśava—It was prepared from red sugar. *Rama. Sund.* 11.23.

¹ *Surāśava*—*Mbh. Maus.* 16.29 See p. 117, f. n. 1.

² See p. 118, f. n. 1.

Rama. Sundara. 11.22-23, See Ch. IV, Sec. 1, p. 95, f. n. 7.
Kaut. II. 25.18.

³ *Rama. Sundara.* 11.23.

⁴ शीतलस्य शीतस्य शीथीर्मधुरसस्य च ।

Rama. Sundara. 11.26.

चन्दनस्य च शीतस्य शीथीर्मधुरसस्य च ।

Rama. Sundara. 11.32.

Gandvāśava (prepared from guḍa) is mentioned in the *Mbh. Karma.* 44.17.

⁶ See p. 118, f. n. 7.

⁷ द्रवाणां चैव सर्वेषां पेयानामपि उत्तमः ।

Mbh. Asv. 44.10.

⁸ जलप्रपातैश्च दमैर्देनिष्पन्नैश्च नवचित् नवचित् ।

Rama. Ay. 94.13.

⁹ निर्जलेषु च देशेषु खानयामासुस्तमान्
उदयानान् बहु विधान् वेदिकापरिमण्डितान् ।

Rama. Ay. 80.12.

पानीयं परमं दानं दानानां मनुष्यबीजं ।
तस्मात् क्षुपाश्चपापीश्च तटाकानि च खानयेत् ।

Mbh. Anu. 100.3.

¹⁰ पयसिन्धुं शिवं यारि सुखं शीतमनामयम् ।

उद्धृत्य स तदामिलण्डं रुच्यस्फटिकसन्निभम् ।

अथ पुष्करपर्णेन लक्ष्मणः पाययिष्यति ।

Rama. Aranya. 73.17-18.

one desirous of lustre should not drink water at night.¹ Besides water many other beverages were prepared at the time of feasts. Some of them were prepared from foodgrains or flour.² Some times fruit juices were used as syrups.³ A preparation of juices from fruits such as pomegranates and raisins was called *rāga*, if it was liquid in form, and *śāḍava*, if the juices were reduced to a thick consistency.⁴

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

From the epics we learn that food was cooked in kitchens, by efficient cooks expert in cooking different dishes and was served by waiters, who were well dressed.⁵ The preparation of *Saṅkuli*, *rasālā*, *rāga* and *śāḍava* shows a high stage of develop-

¹ पानीयस्य क्रिया नक्तं न कार्या भूतिमिच्छता ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.128.

² पानानि च महार्हणि भक्ष्याश्चोष्णावधानपि ।

Rama. Bal. 53.2.

वेद्यवारविकाराश्च पानकानि लभूनि च ।

Mbh. Anu. 53.17.

प्रतिपानहृद्वान् पूर्णान् शरोष्ठगजवाजिनान् ।

Rama. Ay. 91.78.

नानाविधान्नरत्नान् वन्यमूलफलाश्वयान् ।

Rama. Ay. 54.18.

ब्रीहो पुष्पे फले चैव जले पिष्टमये तथा ।

Mbh. Anu. 136.9.

³ नागास्वादुरक्षणां च स्नाण्डवानां तथैव च ।

Rama. Bal. 53.4.

फलं निर्व्यूहं त्रिखंडं : सूर्यैर्गन्धर्वसान्वितैः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.67.

⁴ तयाम्लं खणोत्तसं विविधैः रागषाडवैः ।

Rama. Sundara. 11.18.

भक्ष्यस्नाण्डवरागाणां कियतां भुज्यतां तथा ।

Mbh. Asv. 41.89.

सिता मध्वादि मधुरो द्राक्षादादिसज्जो रसः ।

विरजस्वेत्कृतो रागस्तान्द्रश्चेत् षाडवः ।

Govindaraja quotes 'Pradīpa' on Rama. Sundara. 11.18.

⁵ महान्तैश्च सिद्धैश्च संस्कृतेऽतीव भारत । आह्लाबन्वाणे वृष्णो व्यदृश्यन्त सहस्रपाः ।

Mbh. Mans. 2.

आराधिकाः भूपकारा रागस्नाडविकास्तथा ।

उपतिष्ठन्त राजानं धृतराष्ट्रं पुरा यथा ।

Mbh. Ast. 19.1.

स्वसंस्कृताश्च पुरुषा ब्राह्मणान् पर्यवेशयन्

उपासन्ते च तानग्रे सुमुष्टमणिकुण्डलाः ।

Rama. Bal. 14.18.

Cf. Rama. Ay. 12.95, Ut. 92.6.

ment in the art of cooking.¹ Lakṣmana used to cook food for Rāma and Sītā in the forest.² Royal princes like Bhīma and Nala had attained great skill in the art of cooking. Nala could prepare fine dishes in no time.³ Meat was also dressed in various ways.⁴

The rich generally used utensils of gold, silver, or precious stones while the middle class used utensils of other metals and the poor used utensils of clay or leaves.⁵ The common utensils were water jars, dishes, pans, pitchers, drinking cups, cooking pots and boilers.⁶ Manu prescribes that utensils of stone should

¹ *Śaṅkhā*—See p. 103, f. n. 1.

Rasāṭa—See p. 105, f. n. 3.

Rāga—See p. 120, f. n. 4.

Śāḍava—*Ibid.*

² Rama. Aranya. 73. 12-14.

³ Mbh. Virata. 10. 17.

अक्षिप्तमेव यस्तस्य पानीयं चक्षुद्वयम् ।
काष्ठान्वदिताग्नीनि स्वयं प्रज्वलितानि च ।
अपाञ्च भोजनंस्तैस्तैर्निष्पन्नं दिव्यमेव च ।
एतद् दृष्ट्वा महाश्चर्यं ततश्चाहमिहागता ।

Mbh. Vana. 75. 395-396.

⁴ See p. 108, f. n. 2-6.

⁵ न्यर्द्धानि च पात्राणि शालकुम्भमयानि च ।

स्यात्यः कुम्भः कर्ममयश्च दधिपूनीः सुतंसकृताः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.72.

घटान् पान्त्री कटाहानि कलशान् वर्धमानकान् ।

नहि किञ्चित् असौवर्णमपत्यन्वमुधाधिपः ।

Mbh. 85.30.

⁶ *Bhṛingā* (water jar)—Mbh. Asv. 65.15.

Ghaṭa (water jar)—Mbh. Asv. 85.30.

Kumbha (a pitcher)—Rama. Ay. 91.72.

Laubh (iron pans)—Rama. Ay. 91.69.

Pātri (a dish)—Rama. Ay. 91.71., Mbh. 85.30.

Kaṭah (a frying pan)—Mbh. Asv. 65.15.

Pipharā (a boiler)—Rama. Ay. 91.71.

Vardhamānaka—a kind of dish.

See p. 121, f. n. 5. Mbh. Asv. 85.30.

C.f. Mbh. Asv. 65.15.

Karavāṭī (a vessel for storing liquids)

See p. 121, f. n. 5. Rama. Ay. 91.72.

Karaka (a water pot).

be cleaned with ashes, of gold and silver only with water, of other metals with alkaline substances. Wooden implements were cleaned with warm water and earthenware with another burning¹.

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

Great importance was attached to the fulfilment of the duty of hospitality in the epics.² A Brāhmaṇa, who maintained himself on the gleanings of corn, starves himself to death to feed a guest.³ In the Rāmāyaṇa even the hermits extend hospitality to Rāma and Bharata wherever they went.⁴ Manu goes to the extent of saying that if a Brāhmaṇa stays unhonoured in one's house he takes away all his merit, however, self sacrificing he may have been.⁵ According to him one who cooks for himself

ततः पार्श्वः शकरका बहुल्य मत्तोरमाः। भुङ्गाणि कदाहानि कलशान् वर्षमानकान्।
बहुनि च विचित्राणि भाजनानि सहस्रशः।

Mbh. Asv. 65. 14-15.

Stibhā (a cooking pot)

स्यात्याः कण्ठेऽथ संलग्नं शाकारं वीक्ष्य कैशवः।

Mbh. Van. 263. 24.

¹ तैजसानां मनीनां च सर्वस्याद्यमयस्य च।
भस्मनाऽग्निमुंशं चैव शुद्धिस्तथा मनीषिभिः। १११।
निर्लेपं कञ्चनं भाण्डमद्भिरेव विशुष्यति।
यत्रैवशस्यमयं चैव राजतं चानुपस्मृतम्। ११२।
अयामग्नेश्च संयोगाद्धैमं रोप्यं च निर्बली।
तस्मात्तयोः स्वयोन्येव निष्पेकी गुणवत्तरः। ११३।
ताम्रायःकांस्यरत्नानां नृपुणः सीतयस्त्व च।
सीचं यथार्हं कर्तव्यं क्षारास्त्रोदक वारिभिः। ११४।
इवाणां चैव सर्वेषां शुद्धिस्तत्पवनं स्मृतम्।
प्रोक्षणं संहतानां च दारवाणां च तक्षणम्। ११५।

Manu. V. 111-115.

² सप्रोगोद्योतिभिः सायं सूर्योदौ गृहमेधितान्।
काले प्राप्तस्तत्रकाले वा नास्त्वानश्नन् गृहे वसेत्।

Manu. III. 105.

तोयपूर्वं प्रदायात्रमतिविम्बो विद्यापते
पश्चाद् भुञ्जीत मेधावी नाप्यन्यमना नरः।

Mbh. Anu. 161. 102.

³ Mbh. Asv. 90.

⁴ Rama. Bul. 52 and 53, Ay. 95.

⁵ शिलाभयुञ्छतो निरुपं पञ्चागमीनापि जुह्वतः। १००।

सर्वं मुहुलभादस्ते ब्राह्मणोऽजिषितो वसन्।

न वै स्वयं तदस्मीयादतिथिं सन्न भोजयेत्। १०६।

अयं वसन्समायुष्यं स्वर्गं चातिथिं भोजयन्।

Manu. III. 100, 106.

is a sinner.¹

Besides feeding guests a householder was expected to make some offerings to gods and Brāhmanas before he took his meals. Rāma and Sītā both observed this rule in the forest.² He was enjoined to feed children, oldmen, servants, newly married girls, maidens, sick persons and pregnant women before he took his meals.³ He should also set apart some food for dogs, outcasts, Cāṇḍālas, persons afflicted with infectious diseases, birds and insects.⁴ Ancient Indians always washed their hands, feet and mouth before they took their meals. They also sipped water before and after taking their meals.⁵ It was considered impro-

¹ अथैवं केवलं भुङ्क्ते यः पचत्पातमकारणान्
यजतिष्ठाशनं ह्येतत् सतानथं विधीयते।

Manu. III. 118.

² पतंश्च द्रौपदी सखीन् द्विजार्तीन्च ययास्विनी
भातुवद् भोजमित्वायै शिष्टमाहारयत्तदा।

Mbh. Van. 38.8.

C.f. Rama. Ay. 39.36-37, Aranya. 56.23.

देवान् ऋषीन् भनुष्वन्श्च पितॄन् गृह्याश्च देवताः।

पूजयित्वा ततः पश्चाद् गृहस्थः शोपभुम्भवेत्।

Manu. III. 117.

³ सुवासिनीः कुमारीश्च रोगिणीर्गर्भिणीश्चिवः।
अतिविम्वोऽथ एवैतान् भोजयेद्विचारयन्।

Manu. III. 144.

बालानामथ वृद्धानां दासानां चैव ये तराः।

अदश्वा भक्षयन्त्यग्रे ते वै निरयगाभिजः।

Mbh. Anu. 23.82.

Manu. III. 105, 117, 119, 152.

⁴ शूनां च पतितानां च श्वपचां पापरोनिषाम्।
वायसानां कृमीणां च शतर्कं निर्ववेद भुवि।

Manu. III. 92.

⁵ पञ्चाद्रीं भोजनं नृञ्ज्यात् प्राहुमुखौ मौनमास्थितः।

न निन्द्यादन्नं भक्ष्यादच स्वादु स्वादु च भक्षयेत्।

Mbh. Sanct. 195.6.

आर्द्रपादस्तु भुञ्जानो वर्षाणां जीयते कृतम्।

Mbh. Anu. 161.67.

अन्नं बुभुक्षमाणस्तु त्रिमुक्षेण स्मृशेद्यः।

भुक्त्वा आन्नं तथैव त्रिभिः पुनः परिमार्जयेत्।

Mbh. Anu. 161.59.

सादं पादस्तु दीर्घमायु रवा ध्रुयात्।

Manu. IV. 76.

उपस्पृश्य द्विजोनित्यमन्नमद्यात्समाहितः।

भुक्त्वा शोपस्पृशेत्सम्पगद्भिः ज्ञानि च संस्पृशेत्।

Manu. II. 53.

C.f. Manu. V. 138, II.60.

per to consume the leavings of any person especially liquid foods such as water, milk, rice, groats, curds, clarified butter and honey.¹

It is laid down that a man should not eat the leavings of women and Sūdras, as also what is eaten by a cat, a crow, a mouse, a dog, an ichneumon or food into which a hair or an insect has fallen.² The Mahābhārata gives a long list of those persons whose food should be avoided. The list includes a back-biter, a dealer in *soma*, an acrobat, one who is ungrateful, a potter, a fisherman, an actor, a goldsmith, a musician, a dealer in arms, a hunter, a dealer in liquors, a washerman, a cruel person, a barber, a physician, a woman who has a second husband, a prostitute and a harlot.³ Manu also lays down that a student, who has completed his Vedic studies, should never eat food given by in-

¹ पानीयं पायसं सकृत् दधिसर्गिर्मधुन्यपि
निरस्य शेषमन्येषां न प्रदेयं तु कस्याचित् ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.104.

नोच्छिष्टं कस्यचिद् दद्याद्वाद्याच्चैव यथास्तथा ।
न वैवायवशनं कुर्यान्नोच्छिष्टतः स्वचिद् द्रजेत् ।

Manu. II.56.

² Manu. XI. 152, XI. 160.

शूद्राणां यस्तथानुङ्क्ते स भुङ्क्ते पृथिवीमलम् । १
चिकित्सकः कण्डूषूढः सुराध्यक्षः पुरोहितः ।
सांवत्सरो वृथाध्यायी सर्वे ते शूद्रसंमिताः । ११

Mbh. Anu. 198. 5, 11.

अभोजनानां तु भुङ्क्त्वान्न स्त्रीशूद्रोच्छिष्टमेव च ।
जम्बवा मांसमभक्ष्यं च सप्तरात्रं यवान् पिवेत् ।

Manu. XI. 152.

³ Cf. Manu. IV. 207-208, XI. 95-96, II. 209.

श्रेतान्नं सूतिकाश्रं च यन्न किञ्चिदनिर्देशम् ।
अभोज्यं चाप्यपेयं च धेनोर्दूग्धमनिर्देशम् । २६
राजान्नं तेज आदत्ते शूद्रान्नं ब्रह्मवर्चसम् ।
आयुः सुवर्णकाराग्रमवीरायावच योषितः । २७
विष्टा वाधुषिकस्यान्नं गणिकारामधेन्द्रियम् ।
मृष्यन्ति ये लोपयन्ति स्त्रीलज्जितान्नं च सर्वशः । २८
दीक्षितस्य वादयैत्य भृत्यविक्रयिकस्य च ।
तस्याश्चमविकर्तृश्च पुरुषश्च राजकस्य च । २९
चिकित्सकस्य यश्चाग्रमभोज्यं रक्षिणस्तथा ।
गणग्रामाभिषस्तानां रज्जुस्वीजीविनां यथा । ३०
परिक्रितीनां पुंसां च बन्दिन्यूतविदां तथा । ३१

Mbh. Santi. 36.26-31.

रक्षस्तन्नाभिदुष्टं च तं भागं रक्षसां विदुः । ४
अवपुष्टं च यद् भुङ्क्तमन्नतेन च भारत ।
परपुष्टं शुनां चैव तं भागं रक्षसां विदुः । ५
कैवाकीटावपतितं क्षुतं स्वभिरवेक्षितम् ।

toxicated, angry, or sick men nor what has been touched intentionally with the foot. He should also avoid food which is given without due respect or that which contains unsanctified meat, or the food of an enemy, or that given by the lord of a town or that on which anybody has sneezed. But roots and fruits could be accepted from persons of any caste.¹ Food kept overnight or which has turned sour was to be avoided but any preparations of clarified butter and the remnants of sacrificial offering could be taken even if they were kept overnight.²

Food was always eaten with respect and in a happy mood. It was believed that food taken in a happy mood made a man strong. It was laid down that a man should on no account drop a tear, become angry, or utter an untruth, nor should he revile food served to him.³

People generally took breakfast in the morning, lunch in the afternoon and dinner at sunset.⁴ It was considered improper to take any food between the two principal meals.⁵ Manu

रदितं चावधूतं च तं भागं रक्षसां विदुः । ६ ।
निरोद्धोरिणं यद् भुक्ष्यं सद्यस्त्रेण च भारत ।
दुरात्मना च यद् भुक्ष्यं तं भागं रक्षसां विदुः । ७ ।
परोच्छिष्टं च यद् भुक्ष्यं च यद् भवेत् ।
देवे पित्र्ये च सततं तं भागं रक्षसां विदुः । ८ ।

Mbh. Anu. 23.4-8.

¹ Manu. V. 9, 10, 24, 25.

² यत्किञ्चित् स्नेहसंयुक्तं भक्ष्यं भोज्यमगृहीतम् ।
तत्सम्युपितमप्याद्यं हविःशेषं च यद् भवेत्

Manu. V. 24.

³ पूजयेदशनं नित्यमद्याच्चैतदकुत्सयन् ।
हृष्ट्वा हृष्येत् प्रसीदेच्च प्रतिनन्देच्च सर्वशः । १४ ।
पूजितं हृष्यन् नित्यं व्रतमूर्खं च यच्छति ।
अपूजितं तु यद् भुक्त्वमुन्नमं नाशयेदशम् । १५ ।

Manu. II. 34-35.

⁴ Rāmāyaṇa. Aranya. 56.25, Sund. 22.9, Sundara. 11.

⁵ सायं प्रातर्हविर्वातीनामशनं धृतिं चोदितम् ।
नान्तरा भोजनं क्रुषादिग्निहोत्रसमो विधिः ।

Manu. II. 6.

सायं प्रातर्मनुष्याणामशनं देवनिर्मितम् ।
नान्तरा भोजनं दृष्टमपवासी तथा भवेत् ।

Mbh. Santi. 193.9.

अन्तरा प्रातराशं च सायनाशं तथैव च ।
सदोपवासी स भवेद्यो न भूस्तेजन्तरा पुनः ।

Mbh. Santi. 221.10.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 161.100.

lays down that one should not take food when walking nor should he take very early in the morning nor very late in the evening.¹ One should avoid over eating because it destroys health and bars heaven.²

A student was advised to subsist on alms and to abstain from honey, meat, flavours and all fermented acids.³ The ascetics generally lived on broken pieces of rice, *Kalmāsa*, oil cake, leaves, barley gruel, groats, roots and fruits or gleanings of corn. The fruit which the foresters used were those which fell from the tree without being plucked.⁴ They were expected to be moderate in food and to eat only as much as is necessary to maintain life.⁵

The general rules of etiquette were that a person should have at least two garments when taking his meals.⁶ and should

यम त्वा प्रातराशार्धमालभन्ते गृह्णन्ते ।

Rama. Sundara, 22.9.

¹ नादनीयात् संक्षिपेत्सार्धं न गच्छन्नपि संविशेत् ।

Manu, IV. 55.

न भुञ्जीतोद्घृतस्नेहं नातिशोहितमाचरेत् ।

नातिं प्रणे नातिं सार्धं न सार्धं प्रातराशितः ।

Manu, IV. 62.

² घ्नारोग्यमनाशुष्यमस्वस्थं चातिभोजनम् ।

अपुण्यलोकविहिष्टं तस्मात्तत् परिवर्जयेत् ।

Manu, II. 57.

³ वर्जयेन्मद्यं मांसं च गन्धं माल्यं रसान् स्त्रियः ।

शुक्ताग्निं यानि सर्वाणि प्राणिनां जैव हिंसनम् ।

Manu, II. 177.

⁴ कणकुल्मापि पिप्पलाकशः कयाभक्तस्ततः ।

तथा मूलफलं भैक्ष्यं पयसिणोपयोग्येत् ।

Mbh. Santi. 215.21.

शिलोज्ज्वलवृत्तिर्धर्ममा मुद्गलः संयतेन्द्रियः ।

Mbh. Vana. 260.3.

पुष्पमूलफलैर्वापि केवलैर्वर्जयेत् चरा ।

कालपक्वैः स्वयंशोर्णैर्विज्ञानतः ।

Manu, VI. 21.

⁵ Rama. Ay. 20.29, Ay. 28.12, Manu, III. 257.

नियतहृत्तरः ।

Rama. VII. 9.39.

वावाभार्जं च भुञ्जीत केवलं प्राणधारणम् ।

Mbh. Asvamedha.

⁶ वाग्यतो नैकवस्त्ररचनासुविष्टः कदाचन

भूमीं सदैव नादनीयाश्लीचं न च शब्दवत् ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.101.

नैक वस्त्रेण भोक्तव्यम् ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.71.

नाश्रमद्यदेकवासा न मनः स्तान्धाचरेत् ।

Manu, IV. 45.

not have his head dress and shoes on.¹ He should face the east for it was believed that the practice tends to long life.² He should eat in privacy and silently without making any sound while eating. He should take his meals in a sitting posture and not while walking.³ He should not take food, placing it in his lap, nor should he be too eager to eat.⁴ In a party the etiquette demanded that the same dishes should be served to all.⁵ It was considered improper to eat sweet dishes without sharing them with others.⁶ Women generally took their meals after their husbands had done so.⁷ Eating from the same dish with others was considered bad.⁸

¹ यद्विस्तारि भुङ्क्ते यद् भुङ्क्ते दक्षिणामुखः।
सोपानत्कश्च यद् भुङ्क्ते तर्ह्य रक्षसि भुङ्क्ते।

Manu. III. 238.

² Mbh. Anu. 104.57, Manu. II. 52-53.
प्राङ्मुखो नित्यमदनीयात् अग्नितीक्ष्णमुत्सवन्।

Mbh. Anu. 161.6.

³ निवर्णश्चापि खादेत न तु गच्छन् कदाचन।

Mbh. Anu. 161.65.

नैषुतं सततं गुप्तमाहारं च सनाधरेत्।

Mbh. Anu. 163.47.

⁴ नोत्तमं भक्षयेद् भक्ष्यान्न जातु स्वात् कुतुहली।

Manu. IV. 63.

⁵ सतिषीनां च सर्वेषां प्रेम्णाणां स्वजनस्य च
सामान्यं भोजनं भूर्यः पुरुषस्य प्रशस्यते।

Mbh. Santi. 193.9.

समानमेकपङ्क्त्यां तु भोज्यमन्नं नरेश्वर।
विषं हालाहलं भुङ्क्ते वोऽप्यदाय मुहुर्जनैः।

Mbh. Anu. 161. 103.

तावलीढमवज्ञातमाश्रान्तं भक्षयेदपि।

तथानोद्धतसाराणि प्रेशतामप्रदाय च।

Mbh. Anu. 161.95.

⁶ कञ्चित् स्वादुक्लं भोज्यं एको न खाति राक्षस।

Rama. Ay. 100.75.

पुनर्दरिद्रं मृत्यैव च स्वगृहे परिवारितः

स एको मृष्टमश्नानु यस्वार्यो नु मतेगतः।

Rama. Ay. 75.34.

Manu. III. 229.

⁷ Rama. Ay. 59.36-37, Aranya. 56.28.

पतीन् च द्रोणदीर्घान् विजातीन् च यशस्विनी

मातृवद् भोजयित्वाश्रे सिष्टमाहारवत्तदा।

Mbh. Vana. 58.8.

नाश्नीयाद् भार्यया सार्वम् नैषामीक्षेत चास्नहीम्।

Manu. IV. 45.

समानमेकपात्रे तु भुञ्जेन्नाश्रं जनेश्वर।

Mbh. Anu. 161.94.

We come across almost the same taboos as in the Sūtras. Onions, garlic, and all plants growing on an impure piece of land such as mushrooms, *Bhūstrya*, *Sigru* and *Sleşmātaka* were avoided.¹ It is laid down in the Mahābhārata that one desirous of prosperity should avoid the fruits of *Pippala*, *Vāṭa* and *Udumbara* and the leaves of hemp.² Preparations of sesamum were avoided after sunset.³

Feasts were generally given at the time of sacrifices. At such sacrifices Brāhmaṇas who sold meat were not invited.⁴ Generally three noble Brāhmaṇas were issued an invitation to a feast for the manes,⁵ one day before or on the actual day of the feast. All kinds of dainty dishes were served by waiters who were well dressed with ornaments.⁶ In the forest Rāma per-

¹ बर्जयेन्मधु मांसं च भीमानि कवकानि च ।
भूस्तूर्णं शिचुकं चैव श्लेष्मासकफलानि च ।

Manu, VI. 14.

लघुनं गृञ्जनं चैव पलाण्डुं कवकानि च
भ्रमक्ष्याणि द्विजातीनाममेव्यप्रभवाणि च ।

Manu, V. 5.

क्षत्राकं चिद् वराहं च लघुनं ग्रामकुक्कुटम्
पलाण्डुं गृञ्जनं चैव मत्स्या जम्बा पतेद् द्विजः ।

Manu, V. 19.

स्थलजोदकशाकानिपुष्पमूखफलानि च ।
मेघ्य वृक्षोद्भवाभ्यद्यात् सस्नेहोश्च फलसंभवात् ।

Manu, VI. 13.

² पिणलं च वटं चैव क्षणशाकं तथैव च ।
उदुम्बरं न खादेच्च भवार्थी पुरुषो नृप ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.97.

³ सर्वञ्च तिलसम्बद्धं नाद्यादस्तमिते रवौ ।

Manu, IV. 75.

⁴ चिकित्सकान् देवसकान्मांसवित्रयिणस्तथा
विपणं च जीवन्ती वज्र्याः स्पृह्यन्त्यकव्ययोः ।

Manu, III. 152.

⁵ पूर्वैश्वर्यरेक्षुर्वा श्राद्धकर्मणुपस्थिते ।
निमग्नयेत् श्वयरात् सम्भृत् विप्रान् ययोदितान् ।

Manu, III. 187.

⁶ स्वलङ्कृताश्च पुरुषा ब्राह्मणान् पर्यवेपयन्
उपासन्ते च तान्ये समृष्टमणिकुण्डलाः ।

Rama, Bal. 14.8.

यस्व चाहारसमये सूदाः कुण्डलधारिणः ।

Rama, Ayo. 12.95.

परिवेषणं च विप्रणां प्रयताः संप्रचकिरे ।

Rama, Uttara. 92.6.

C.f. Rama, Ay. 12.85, Aranya. 56.24, Sundara. 22.9.

formed these rites by offering fruits such as *inguda*, jujube and *bilva*, but generally the food served to the Brāhmanas consisted of such stuffs as were eaten by hermits in the forest; milk, soma juice and meat which is not prepared with spices.¹ It was generally served hot and prepared with clarified butter.² The Śaiva festival Samāja is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata. On such occasions feasts accompanied by drinking were common.³ Some idea of the feasts in these days can be had from the description of the feasts which *Vasiṣṭha* and *Bhāradvāja* gave in honour of the visit of *Viśvāmītra* and *Bhurata* respectively.⁴

The food of the rich generally consisted of meat preparations, of the middle class people of dairy products, and of the poor of food preparations cooked in oil.⁵ People used to take with them some food when proceeding on a journey.⁶ From the Śārasvata Upākhyāna in the Śalyaparva of the Mahābhārata we know that the Śārasvata Brāhmanas had no objection to taking meat diet.⁷ The custom of betel chewing after meals is mentioned nowhere in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata probably

महानसेषु सिद्धेषु संस्कृतेष्विव भारत ।
आहार्यमाणे वृष्णो न्यवृष्यन्त सनुस्रजः ।

Mbh. Mausala. 2.

गुणान्व सूपशाकाद्यान् पयोदधि घृतं मधु
विन्ध्यसेत् प्रयतः पूर्वं भूमावेव समाहितः ।

Manu. III. 226.

अक्षयं भोज्यं च विविधं मूलानि च फलानि च
हृद्यानि चैव मांसानि पानानि सुरभीणि च ।

Manu. III. 227.

C.f. Rama. Bal. 53.1, 54.22, VII. 92.6, VII. 92.17.

¹ दृक्कुर्वन्नेदरैः विल्वं रामस्तपैषते गितुन् ।
यदेनं पृथगो भुङ्क्ते तवमास्तस्य देवताः ।

Rama. Ay. 103.30.

² Manu. III. 257, 256.

अल्पगुणं सर्वमन्नं स्याद् भुञ्जीरस्ते वाग्व्यताः ।
न च विजातयो बभूवुर्दत्ता पृष्टा हविर्गुणान् ।

Manu. III. 256.

³ Hopkins.-Epic Mythology, pp. 65, 220.

⁴ Rama. Bal. 52 and 53, Ay. 91.

⁵ आह्वयानां मांसं परमं मध्यानां शीरसोत्तरम्
तैलोत्तरं दरिद्राणां भोजनं भरतर्षभ ।

Mbh. Udyoga. 34.49.

⁶ वक्तव्यशाना दूता जग्मुः स्वं स्वं निकेतनम् ।
केकयास्ते गभिष्यन्ती हजानाश्च संसृताम् ।

Ram. Ay. 68.10.

⁷ Mbh. Śalya. 31.

because it had not yet become a part of the Aryan etiquette.

The inhabitants of the Vāhlika region did not observe all the rules about the purity of food. Their food habits have been condemned in the Karmā Parva of the Mahābhārata. Their meal consisted of groats, fish, beef and liquor prepared from treacle. Other food articles which they used were parched barley, garlic, onions, cakes, meat of pigs, cocks, asses, camels and rams, and churned curds. They also took the milk of sheep, camels and asses and could take their meals with persons of all castes. They used wooden vessels and earthenware for taking food. Their women were addicted to drinking.¹

We have already referred to the non-Aryan people the Vānasas who subsisted on the roots, fruits and tubers of the forest and the Rākṣasas whose meal mostly consisted of meat preparations and strong liquors. In the Rāmāyaṇa the description of Rāvaṇa's kitchen and in the Mahābhārata the account of Hidimba shows that these people were not affected by the civilizing influence of the Aryans.²

To sum up in the epics and the Manusmṛiti we have a society divided into three broad strata; the rich, the middle classes and the poor. The rich enjoyed many meat preparations and dainties. The food of the middle classes generally consisted of milk and

१ वेदां गृहेष्वपिष्टानां सक्तुमत्स्याशिनो तथा।
पीत्वा सीधु सपीमांसं कृन्वन्ति च हसन्ति च।
वासांस्तुत्सृज्य नृशयन्ति स्त्रियो वा मद्यमोहिताः।

Mbh. Karma. 40. 27-28.

धानादीन्वासवं पीत्वा गोमांसं लक्षुनैः सह।
अपूपमांसवाद्यानामाशिनः शीलवज्रिताः।११।
अपूपान् सक्तु पिच्छाश्च प्राचलन्तो ममितान्वितान्।१२।
पक्षाब्दगुण्डूपयुतान् खादन्ती चैदकान् बहून्।
बाराहं वीरकुटं मांसं गव्यं गार्दभमोष्टिकम्।१५।
काष्ठकुण्डेषु बाह्लीका मृन्मयेषु च भुञ्जते।१५।
सक्तुनद्यावलिप्तेषु स्वावलीडेषु निषृणाः।
आविकं वीष्टिकं चैव क्षीरं गार्दभमेव च।१६।
तद्विकारां बाह्लीकाः खादन्ति च पिबन्ति च।
पुनसंकरिणी जातमाः सर्वास्त्रीरभोजनतः।१७।

Mbh. Karma. 44. 11-37.

Churned curds (*Mathira*) and meat preparations are popular in the Punjab even to this day.

² See p. 108, f. n. 1.

articles cooked in clarified butter while the poor were satisfied with food articles cooked in oil. The jungle tribes such as the *Vānaras* and the *Rākṣasas* lived mainly on roots and fruit and meat preparations respectively. With the passage of time a feeling of revulsion against meat diet was growing in the Aryan society and it was considered meritorious to live on vegetarian dishes alone. But in the Punjab some people relished even beef. Drinking was common in the Punjab and in the Southern India where Aryan influence had not yet fully penetrated. The list of those persons whose food should be avoided has been considerably increased probably to maintain the purity of race. The art of cooking was further developed on account of the keen interest taken by royal princes and grand feasts were commoner on such occasions as marriages and sacrifices.

CHAPTER V FOOD AND DRINKS

(75 A.D. To 300 A.D.)

For the period 75 A.D. to 300 A.D. our principal sources of information are the medical treatises of Caraka and Suśruta. We may supplement their information by that provided by the two other medical works composed during our period, the Saṁhitās of Bhela and Kāśyapa. For the views of the society about interdining and other rules of diet we have utilised the Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra and the Yājñavalkya Smṛti which were according to Dr. Kane, composed not later than 300 A.D.

According to the authors of the medical works it is food alone which sustains life. If proper food is taken it brings vitality, refreshes all the limbs, strengthens the sources of life, develops the faculties of memory and intelligence, increases the physical strength and makes the complexion clear. If proper diet is not taken the result is unhappiness.¹ Human body is made of five elements and food articles are also composed of five elements. If, the food articles are properly digested, they nourish the respective elements in the body² and the three primary humours

¹ न आहारो दूते श्रानिनां प्राणाधिष्ठानं किञ्चिदप्युपलभामहे स सम्यगुपयुज्यमानो जीवयति, सर्वेद्रियाणि ह्लादयति, वातुनाप्यायति, स्मृतिमतिस्सर्वबलीनां स्थूलयति, वर्णप्रसाधं चोपजनयति, असम्यगुपयुज्यमानस्तत्सुखेनोपयोजयति ।

Kāśyapa, Khila. V. 3.

हिताहारोपयोग एक एव पुरुषस्याभिवृद्धिकरो भवति अहिताहारोपयोगः पुनर्ध्याधीनां निमित्तमिति ।

Caraka, Su. 25. 31.

बलमारोध्यमायुश्च प्राणारधामनी प्रतिच्छिन्नाः ।

अन्नपानेन्यनैश्चानिदीप्यते क्षाम्यतेऽप्यथा ।

Caraka, Su. 27. 340.

² पञ्चभूतात्मके देहेह्माहारः पाञ्चभौतिकः ।

विपश्चः पञ्चधासम्यग् गुणान्स्वानभिवर्धयेत् ।

अविदग्धः कफं पित्तं विदग्धः पवनं पुनः

सम्यक्पक्वोतिःसार आहारः परिवर्हयेत् ।

Suśruta. Su. 46. 526-527.

wind, gall and mucus are not disturbed. If it is not properly digested it deranges one or more of these humours and diseases are caused.¹ They have, therefore, paid special attention to the topic of food and drinks and devoted special chapters to discuss the subject.

Food articles have been divided into four categories, beverages, food which does not require chewing, that which requires chewing and that which is taken by licking.² All the food articles consist of six flavours sweet, acid, salt, pungent, astringent and bitter. All these flavours increase one or more of the three primary humours of the human body. A proper balance of these flavours keeps man free from all diseases and enables him to lead a happy and healthy life.³

CEREALS AND PULSES

Food grains have been divided into two kinds, those with awns and those having legumes.⁴ Of the first kind the most important was rice with its three main varieties—*Vrihi* ripening in autumn, *Sali* ripening in winter and *Śastika* ripening in sixty

¹ वायुः पित्तं कफश्चोक्तः क्षारीरो दोषसंज्ञहः।

मानसः पुनरुद्दिष्टो रजश्च तमएव च।

Caraka, Su. I. 36.

क्षारीरोऽस्वप्नपानधूला दाहपित्तकफशीणितल्लिपातवैषम्यनिमित्ताः।

Susruta, Su. I. 25.

² चतुर्विधोपयोगः पाणान्नप्रक्षयेह्योपयोगात्।

Caraka, Su. 25.36.

³ यद् भक्षयति भूयस्ते वा विधिवन्नापि मानवः।

पेयं च किञ्चित् पिबति तस्यैव बहुसांनिध्यम्।

Bhela, XXVIII. p. 47.

प्राणिनां पुनर्भूतमाहारो हलवर्णोऽज्ञां च। स षट्सु रसेभ्योऽतः रसाः पुनर्देव्याभ्याः, इव्यानि पुनरीषधयः।

Susruta, Su. I. 28.

एवमेते षड्रसाः पृथक्त्वेनैकत्वेन वा मानवाः सम्बन्धयन्त्युज्यमाना उपकारकरा भवन्त्यव्यारम्भलोकस्य अथकारकराः पुनर्योऽज्ययोपयुज्यमानाः, तान् विद्वानुपकारार्थमेव मानवाः सम्बन्धयन्ति चेदिति।

Caraka, Su. 26.66.

स्वाद्भस्मलवणा वायुं कषायस्वादुतिक्तकाः।

ज्वान्ति पित्तं श्लेष्माश्च कषायकटुतिक्तकाः।

Caraka, Su. I. 65.

⁴ *Sāka dhanya* (those with awns)

Sāmi dhanya (leguminous plants)

Caraka, Su. 27.6.

days in summer.¹ The *Vrihi* variety was considered inferior to the other two varieties.² The most popular varieties of *Sāli* rice were—*raktasāli*, *mahāsāli*, and *kalama*³ and of *Vrihi* rice the black variety called *Kṛṣṇavrihi*.⁴ *Śastika* rice was considered very nourishing and its daily use is recommended.⁵ Some inferior cereals such as *Koradāsaka*, *Syāmāka*, *Nivāra*, *Varaka* and *Priyangu* were used by poor people and ascetics.⁶ Two varieties of

¹ क्षालि ह्येभ्यस्तं चान्यम् षष्टिकादयश्च ग्रीष्मकाः सीहयः शरदाः ।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka, Su. 27.

² षष्टिकाञ्छालिमुद्गांश्च सैन्धवामलके यवान् ।

शान्तरीक्षं पयः सपिण्डिजलं मघु चान्यथेह ।

Caraka, Su. 1.10.

³ Caraka mentions fifteen good varieties of *Sāli* rice—*Raktasāli*, *Mahāsāli*, *Kalama*, *Sekundārta*, *Tārgaka*, *Dirghatāka*, *Gaura*, *Pāṇḍaka*, *Lāṅgula*, *Sugandhika*, *Lohavāla*, *Sāruva*, *Pramadaka*, *Pataṅga* and *Tapaniya*.

(Caraka, Su. 27. 7-8).

The five inferior varieties of *Sāli* rice are *Yanaka*, *Hāyana*, *Pāṇḍu*, *Vāpya* and *Naiṣadbaka*.

(Caraka, Su. 27. 11).

C.f. *Susruta*, 46.4, *Bhela*, XXVIII, p. 48.

लोहितशालयः शुक्रधान्यानां पथ्यतमत्वे श्रेष्ठतमाभवन्ति

Caraka, Su. 23. p. 130.

तेषां लोहितकः श्रेष्ठो दोषस्तः शुक्रमूत्रतः ।

Susruta, Su. 46.6.

रक्तशालिवर्स्तेषामरोक्ष्यत्वात्लाघवेन च ।

Bhela, XXVIII, p. 48.

षष्टिका यवगोधूमा लोहिता ये च शालयः ।

मुद्गादकीमसूराश्च चान्येषु प्रवराः स्मृताः ।

Susruta, Su. 46.332.

⁴ कृष्णव्रीहिशालामुखलतुमुलतन्दीमुखतावक्षकद्वारिक कुक्कुटाश्लकं पारावतकं पाटलं प्रभृतयो ग्रीहयः ।

Susruta, Su. 46.12.

कृष्णव्रीहिवर्स्तेषां कषायानुरसोलघुः ।

Susruta, Su. 46.14.

⁵ Besides the two varieties of *Śastika* rice one white and the other black white, Caraka mentions *Varaka*, *Udālilaka*, *Cina*, *Sārada*, *Ujjvala*, *Dardura*, *Gandhala* and *Kuruvinda* in this category.

(Caraka, Su. 27. 13-14).

C.f. *Susruta*, 46.8.

माषयूपेषु यो भुक्त्वा घृताह्वयं षष्टिकौदनम् ।

पयः पिबति रात्रिं ह कुत्स्तां जायति वेगवान् ।

Caraka, Ci. II, 1.47.

षष्टिकः प्रवस्तेषां कषायानुरसो लघुः ।

Susruta, 46.10.

⁶ The following varieties of inferior cereals are mentioned—*Pāṇḍu*, *Koradāsaka*, *Syāmāka*, *Lohitāṅga*, *Priyangu*, *Mukunda*, *Jibṅṅi*, *Garmūṣṭi*, *Cāraka*, *Varaka*, *Sibira*, *Utkapa* and *Jārpa*.

(Caraka, Su. 27. 15-17).

wheat *Madhūlikā* and *Nandīmukhi* have been mentioned by Susruta in the list of inferior foodgrains, which shows that wheat had not till then reached its present prominent position.¹ Barley continued to be the staple food grain besides rice.² Many pulses were in use but the most popular were *Mudga*, *Adhaki* and *Māsira*.³ The medical works regard *Māsa* as the worst pulse because it was difficult to digest.⁴ *Kulattiba* is prescribed for a feeding mother with a view to increase her milk.⁵

Rice was washed and cooked in water or milk with fats, meat, fruits, tubers or pulses.⁶ Gruels were named according to the proportion of water they contained. They were either

¹ कौरूपक श्यामाक नीवार सान्तनु वरकोद्दालक प्रियंगु मधूलिका नान्दीमुखी कुशविन्द गवेषुक सरवचक तीव्रपर्णी मुकुन्दक वेणुद्वय प्रभृतयः कुष्ठान्य विशेषाः ।

Susruta. Su. 46.21.

² Caraka. Su. 27.19. Susruta. Su. 46. Bhela. p. 44.

³ Caraka mentions, *Mudga*, *Māsa*, *Rājamāsa*, *Kulattiba*, *Makusphaka*, *Capaka*, *Māsira*, *Khasdikā*, *Harenu*, *Simbi*, *Adhaki*, *Analgajā*, *Edgaja*, *Nisipava*, *Kākāphala* and *Atmagajitā*.

(Caraka. Su. 27. 22-23).

C.f. Bhela XXVIII, p. 48.

चणकाश्च मसूराश्च खण्डिकाः सहरेणवः ।

लघवः शीतमधुराः सकपायाः विरुक्षणाः ।

Caraka. Su. 27.28.

मुद्गवनमुद्गकलायमकुष्ठमसूरमङ्गुल्यवणकसतीनत्रिपुटकहरेणुमादकी प्रभृतयः वेदनाः ।

Susruta. Su. 46.27.

हरेणवो मसूराश्च सतिनाश्च तवादके ।

कुलुस्थश्च विशेषेण कषायमधुरा रसे ।

Bhela. p. 46.

मुद्गादकी मसूराश्च धान्येषु प्रवराः स्मृताः ।

Susruta. Su. 46. 332.

⁴ माषाः शमीषान्मानाम् अपध्यतमत्वेन प्रकुष्ठतमाभवन्ति ।

Caraka. Su. 25. p. 130.

⁵ Kasyapa. Sam. XIX.

⁶ सुधीतः प्रसृतः स्निग्धः संतप्तश्चोदनो जम्बू ।

अधीतोऽप्रसृतोऽस्निग्धः शीतश्चाप्योदनो गुरुः ।

Caraka. Su. 27.236.

C.f. Susruta. Su. 46.347.

गुडोदनं पायसं च हविष्यं क्षीरपष्टिकम्

दध्मोदनं हविर्गुणं मोतं विवाणमेव च ।

Yaj. I. 303-304.

स्नेहं हिंसिकं लैः कर्दवं दलाम्लैश्च संयुताः ।

गुरवो बृहन्ना बल्या ये च क्षीरोपशान्तिनाः ।

Susruta. Su. 46.349.

drunk or licked.¹ One of the tasty soups was prepared with parched rice, long pepper, dry ginger and the juice of pomegranates.²

All the old preparations of cereals such as groats, parched barley and rice, *Kulmāṣa*, *Saṅkuli*, *Prthuka*, *Kṛsara* and *Apāpa* were in use.³ Groats were also eaten in the form of a

¹ शिष्यैर्विरहितो मण्डः पेया सितयसमन्विता
विलेपी बहुसिक्वा स्वाद् यवागूर्विरसद्रवा।

Susruta. Su. 46.341.

If the quantity of water mixed for cooking was four times that of food grains it was called *Vilepi*, if five times, it was called *Anna*, if six times, *Yavāgū* and if fourteen times *Manda*.

अन्नं पञ्चगुणे तीये यवागूर्बहुगुणे पचेत्
चतुर्दशगुणे मण्डं विलेपी तु चतुर्गुणे।

Dalhāṇa on Susruta. Su. 46.

² पेयाहि सिद्धा सद् दधिमेन तत्रेण चुकेण जलेन पीण्या।
संसेव्वा चाशु विहन्ति तृष्णां कालीपपत्ता मरिचार्द्रकाम्भाम्।

Kas. Sam. Su. 33.

³ *Sakta* (parched barley meal)—*Caraka* Su. 27.263. Groats mixed with clarified butter or cold water neither too thick nor too thin in consistency were called *Manṣa*. They were also mixed with sour groel, treacle, sugar, juice of sugarcane and grapes (*Susruta*, Su. 46.383). *Caraka* Su. 27.262 also mentions groats of parched paddy.

सक्तत्रः सपिषाभुक्ताः शीतवारितरिप्सुताः
नात्यञ्छा नातिखान्दाश्च मन्थइत्यभिधीयते।

Cakrapāṇi on *Caraka* Su. 6.28.

Dhānāḥ (parched barley, *Caraka*, Su. 27.264).
Sprouted barley was also parched (*Vīraṇḍha dhānāḥ*).
विरुध्वानांशङ्कुल्यो मधुकोडाः सपिण्डकाः।

पूपाः पूषलिकाश्चाश्च मुरवः पैष्टिकाः परम्।

Caraka, Su. 27.267.

Porridge of parched barley was also used. (*Vāṇya*).

हृयाद् व्याधीन् यथापुषी यावको वाट्मएव च।

Caraka, Su. 27.265.

Bhṛīṣṭa saṅkula—Parched rice was also used in preparing a porridge.
भृष्टतण्डुलमिच्छन्ति गरस्तेष्मामयेवपि।

Caraka, Su. 27.237.

Kulmāṣa—Barley flour slightly boiled in warm water, and made into cakes.

यवपिष्टमुष्णोदकतिक्ष्णमीकत् सितन्नमपूपीकितं कुल्माषमाहुः।

Cakrapāṇi on *Caraka* Su. 27.260.

Saṅkuli—Delicious cakes prepared with fine rice or gram meal mixed with sesamum and fried in oil.

शालिपिष्टैः सतिलैस्तैलपक्वाः क्रियन्ते।

Cakrapāṇi on *Caraka* Su. 27.265.

C.f. *Susruta*, Su. 46.400.

चणकादिपिष्टकुताः सतिताः शैतभृष्टाःशङ्कुलीः।

Dalhāṇa on *Susruta* Su., 46.400.

paste.¹ A new preparation of rice or wheat called *Vijyanda* is mentioned in the *Suśruta*.² A cake of barley flour with a broad bottom and a pointed top with some marks in the middle was called *Svastika*.³ Many sweet preparations were made from powdered wheat flour in this period.⁴

Pulses such as *Mudga*, *Mashāra*, gram and pea were parched and eaten,⁵ besides being made into soups.⁶ Beans of *mudga*

Prśhuka

आर्द्रशालिभान्यं मृदुभ्रष्टं मूतलाघातनिष्पटीमूतवयवं पथुका इत्युच्यन्ते।

Dalhapā.

C.f. Kas-Sam. p. 305, *Suśruta*. Su. 46.415.

Sāpa

निस्तुब्युक्तिभ्रष्टं च सूष्यं लघु विपच्यते।

Suśruta, Su. 46.310.

Kṛtara—a porridge prepared with sesamum rice and *māṣa* pulse (*Suśruta*. Su. 46.346).

वृथा कुसर संयाव पायसापूपपाकुलीः।

Yaj. I. 173.

Palalaṇḍana—Rice cooked with ground sesamum.

कृताकृतास्तप्लुलाश्च पललीदनमेव च।

Yaj. I. 287.

Apāpa—Cakes of barley or rice meal—*Caraka*. Su. 27.265.

¹ सक्तुतामचलेहिक्का।

Suśruta. Su. 46.412.

² *Vijyanda*—It was either a preparation of rice grains fried in ghee, or wheat flour mixed with ghee, milk and treacle. It was neither too thick nor too thin in consistency. (*Suśruta*. Su. 46.398).

वृतभ्रष्ट तण्डुलाः प्रथवा सामगोधूमचूर्णं च सपिः क्षीरगुडान्वितम्। नाति साद्रो नाति-
वनो विष्यन्दोनाम नामतः।

Dalhapā.

³ *Svastika*—*Suśruta*. Uttara. 60.33.

स्वस्तिको यवादि चूर्णः कृतोऽधोभागे विस्तीर्ण ऊर्ध्वभागे तीक्ष्णो मध्ये बलिनय चूडा-
ङ्कितोऽथैव विशेषः।

Dalhapā.

⁴ *Sāmināḥ* (preparation of powdered wheat meal) stuffed with boiled and ground *mudga*.

Suśruta. Su. 46.399.

⁵ मुद्गान् मसूराश्चणकान् कलायान् भुष्टान् मूतान् नागरभासिकाम्नाम्।

लिङ्गात् तथैव विकलाविडङ्ग चूर्णं विडङ्गपलवयोरथवा।

Caraka. Cikitsā. 20.37.

⁶ *Yāṣa* was generally a soup of pulses prepared with spices (*Kṛtāyāṣa*) or without them (*akṛtāyāṣa*). The *Kāśyapa Sārnihita* mentions twenty four varieties of *Yāṣas*. The most common were those prepared with *Mudga* and *Kulattiba*.

अरुनेह लवणं सर्वमकृतं कटुकैर्वित्त।

विज्ञेयं लवणस्नेहकटुकोः संयुतम् कृतम्।

Suśruta. Su. 46.379.

or gram when parched in fire were called *Ulumbāh*.¹ *Parpatas* were prepared with flour of pulses, as in the past.²

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk was considered a complete diet and is recommended as a most nourishing food.³ Unboiled milk was considered heavy while freshly milked warm milk was considered wholesome. Overboiled milk was considered difficult to digest.⁴ Milk of cows, buffaloes, goats, mares, sheep, elephants, does,

मुद्गयूषोविरसिकायूषोवाहिमकस्तथा । १६ ।
 चित्रकामलकानां च द्वौ यूषो परिकीर्तितौ ।
 पत्रकोलकयूषौ द्वौ संग्राही दीपनस्तथा २० ।
 क्षान्तयूषोऽयं कोलरथः फलयूषश्चभार्जन ।
 पुष्पयूषः पत्रयूषो बलकयूषस्तथैव च । २१ ।
 मुख्यः पल्लवयूषश्च महायूषश्च तथैव च ।
 रास्तायूषो महायूषश्च चाज्जेर्गमूलकश्च च । २२ ।
 पुनर्नवातिबलक्षो मुदकाभ्रलिकस्तथा ।
 मुख्यनिकटयूषश्च लघुनर्वास्तुकेन च ।

Kaśyapa. YUṣṣa. 19-23.

जेवः पच्यतमञ्जवैव मुद्गयूषः कृताकृतः ।

Susruta. Su. 46.367.

कुलत्थयूषोऽनिलहा एवाक्षपीनक्षनाशनः ।

Susruta. Su. 46.372.

¹ Susruta. Su. 46.470.

मुद्गकलायादिशिम्बा अग्निपनवाहोलका इत्युच्यन्ते । होलकाः उलुम्बाः ।

Dalhapa.

² Caraka. Su. 27.272.

³ सर्वं दुग्धमभिष्यन्ति दग्धं तेभ्योनिशिष्यते ।

वाजी भजति दुग्धेन बलं चाप्युपजायते ।

संजीवनं संभवति सर्वं क्षीरमुदाहृतम् ।

Bhela. XXVIII. p. 49.

क्षीरं सर्वेषां देहिनां चानुश्लेक्षे क्षीरं पिबन्तं च न रोग एति ।

क्षीरात्परं नान्यदिहृतिं ब्रूवं क्षीरात्परं नास्ति च जीवनीयम् ।

Kaśyapa. Bhojana. 90.

उपवासाभ्यन्तरेऽप्यस्त्रीयारुतात्पकर्मभिः ।

बलान्तानामनुपाचार्यं पयः पच्यं यथामृतम् ।

Caraka. Su. 27.322.

⁴ पयोभिष्यन्ति गुर्वभिः प्रायशः परिकीर्तितम् ।

घारोष्णं गुणवत् क्षीरं विपरीतमथोन्मथा ।

तदेवातिशक्तं क्षीरं गुरु ब्रूह्णमुच्यते ।

Susruta. Su. 43. 61-63.

camels and women was used.¹ Milk of buffaloes was considered good for those whose digestive system was good.² Beastings were avoided for a few days. Yājñavalkya lays down that the milk of a cow in heat, not giving milk at proper time, without her young one or the milk of camels, one hoofed animals, women, animals living in a forest and of sheep should be avoided.³ Milk and ghee of a cow were considered the best and those of a sheep the worst.⁴ Milk rice was popular as before.⁵

The use of curds is not recommended in the autumn, the summer and the spring seasons.⁶ Cream of milk, and of curds, whey, fresh butter, clarified butter and butter milk were all used.⁷

¹ भविष्यीरमजाक्षीरं गोक्षीरं माहिषं च यत् ।
उष्णीषामय नागीनां बटवायाः स्त्रियास्तथा ।

Caraka. Su. I. 106.

² महामिष्यन्दि मधुरं माहिषं वृद्धिनाशनम् ।

Susruta. Su. 45.55.

³ Caraka. Su. 27.

संविन्यनिर्दशावत्सा गोपयः परिवर्जयेत् ।
श्रोष्ठुर्मकशफं स्त्रेणमारण्यकमयाविकम् ।

Yaj. I. 170.

⁴ गव्यं सपिः सपिषां गोक्षीरं क्षीराणाम् (पथ्यतमत्वेन श्रेष्ठतमामवन्ति)
आविकं सपिः सपिषाम् भविषीरं क्षीराणाम् (अपथ्यतमत्वेन प्रकुष्ठतमामवन्ति)

Caraka. Su. 25 p. 281.

गुव्यं क्षीरं घृतं श्रेष्ठम् ।

Susruta. Su. 6.336.

⁵ *Pāyasa* (milk rice)—Yaj. I. 303, 173. Susruta. Su. 46.346. It appears from Yaj. that milk rice with *Saffika* rice was considered the best.

⁶ शरद्शीष्मवसन्तेषु प्रायशो दधि गृहीतम् ।

Caraka. Su. 27.226.

Kasyapa. Bhoj. Kalpa 46, Susruta. 45.65.

Curds prepared from skimmed milk (*asāra dadhi*, Susruta. 45. 83) were also used.

⁷ *Santānikā*—(cream of milk) It was considered a tonic—Susruta. Su. 45.106.

Sara (cream of curds)

सरः दध्यपरि स्नेहः ।

Cakrapāṇi. on Caraka. Su. 227.

Mastu (whey)—It is called *Maṅḍa* in Caraka. Su. 27.227.

Navanīta (fresh butter)—Caraka. Su. 27.229, Susruta. Su. 45.92.

Ghṛītam (clarified butter)—Cow's butter was considered the best. Caraka. Su. 27.229, Susruta. Su. 45.96.

Takra (butter milk)—Kasyapa Bhoj. 46, Caraka. Su. 27.228, Susruta. Su. 45.84.

Milk not fully curdled was considered injurious to health. Beastings, and solid part of inspissated milk were considered heavy to digest.¹ Curds churned without water were also used.² Butter was taken out by churning milk as well as curds.³ Old clarified butter was considered a panacea while condensed upper part of clarified butter was considered good for health.⁴

Curds were eaten with treacle⁵ and sweets were prepared with inspissated milk.⁶ Of the preparation of curds *rasāla* or *Sikharipi*⁷ was the most popular, but there was another preparation of curds called *Saffaka*. In one variety of *Saffaka*, pieces of cloves, and seeds of sour pomegranate were mixed with curds. Camphor was used to make it fragrant.⁸

¹ *Mandadodhi*—Caraka. Su. 27.228, Susruta. Su. 45.67.

² *Ghṛtam*—

यत्तु सस्नेहमजलं मथितं घृतमुच्यते ।

Susruta. Su. 45.83.

³ क्षीरोरश्च घृतनैवनीतमुत्क्रष्टस्नेहमाधुर्वमतिशीतं शीकुमार्यकरं चक्षुष्यं संप्राप्तिं रक्त-
पित्तनेत्ररोगहरं प्रसादनं च ।

Susruta. Su. 45.93.

⁴ *Kumbha ghṛtam*—Clarified butter matured from 11 to 100 years.

Ghṛta māṇḍam—Condensed upper stratum of clarified butter.

Susruta. Su. 45.106.

⁵ *Saguda dadhi*—Susruta. Su. 27.277.

⁶ *Kārtika* (solid ingredients of inspissated milk)—It is called *Kilāta* in Caraka. Su. 27.233. Its daily use is not recommended. Sweets prepared from it were called *Kārtika vikṛtāp*. Susruta. Su. 46.403.

कूचिकीभूत क्षीरस्य घनभागः किलाटः ।

Cakrapāṇi,

कूचिकारश्च किलाटारश्च शीकरं गव्यमाहिवे

मत्स्यान्दधि च मापाश्च न शीलयेत् ।

Caraka. Su. 3.9.

विप्रचितं क्षीरं घनत्वमापन्नं कूचिका ।

Dalhāpa. on Susruta Su. 45.90.

⁷ Caraka. Su. 27.276, Susruta. Su. 46.384.

अर्घाटकं सुचिरपर्युषितस्य दध्नः खण्डस्य षोडशपक्षा निशशिप्रभस्य । ।

सपिप्पलं मधुपलं गरिबद्धिकर्षम् सुषड्याः पलाशमपि चार्धनलं चतुणमि ।

सूक्ष्मे पटे ललनया मृदुपाणिबुध्या कर्पूरशुक्तिमुरभीक्ष्णं पात्र संस्था ।

एषावृकोदरकृता तरला रसाला याज्ज्वादिता भगवता मधुसूदनेन ।

Cakrapāṇi.

⁸ त्वक्कयोषण्डंस्तु दधि निर्मथ्य गालितम् ।

दाहिमबीजसंयुक्तं घन्दपूर्णविचूणितम् ।

सदृकं सुप्रभादाख्यं नलादिभिश्चाहृतम् ।

Dalhāpa.

MEAT DIET

Meat was considered a very nourishing diet.¹ It is prescribed for the weak, the convalescent and the people addicted to wine and women and for those doing excessive physical work.² Meat of goats, *Robita* fish, tortoises, deer, parrots, quails, partridges, hares, peacocks, and alligators was considered good for food.³ Other animals whose flesh was eaten were sheep, geese, cocks, porcupines, pigeons, cows, jackals, fish and some birds.⁴

For those whose digestive system was good or who took physical exercise daily the flesh of creatures which dart suddenly on their prey, living in holes underground, in marshy places, in water or walking in water was regarded as suitable.⁵ As the digestive system is generally in good order in winter the flesh of these animals is also recommended for the winter season.⁶

Dried or putrid flesh as well as the flesh of those animals which were diseased, old, emaciated or poisonous, of those bitten by snakes, of tender in age, of those fed on unnatural food and of those struck with a poisoned dart was avoided.⁷

¹ शरीरबृहणे नान्यत् क्षायं मांसाद् विशिष्यते ।

Caraka. Su. 27.86.

² प्राणिनः सर्वभूतानां हृद्यो मांसरसः परम्
शुष्यतां व्याधिमुक्ततां कृशानां क्षीणरेतसाम् ।
बलवर्णार्थिनां चैव रसं विद्याद्यथामृतम् ।
सर्वरोगप्रशमनं यथा स्वविहितं रसम् ।
विद्यात् स्वयं बलकरं वयोबुद्धीन्द्रियामुषाम् ।
व्यायामनित्याः स्त्रीनित्याः मद्यनित्याश्च ये नराः ।
नित्यं मांसरसाहारा नानुराः स्मृतं बुवंता ।

Caraka. Su. 27. 312-315.

³ तत्र शास्त्रिणश्चिकित्सुर्गन्धलावकपिञ्जलएणशशरभशम्बरादीन्याहारद्रव्याणि प्रकृति-
लघून्यपि मात्रापेक्षीणिभवन्ति ।

Caraka. Su. V. 4.

⁴ एणेनैव मृगमांसानां लावः पक्षिणां गोधा विलेशयानां रोहितो मत्स्यानां इति
प्रकृत्यैव हिततमानामाहारविकाराणां प्राधान्यतो द्रव्याणि व्याख्यातानि भवन्ति ।

Caraka. Su. 25.38.

लावतित्तिरसारंग कुरङ्गैकपिञ्जलाः ।
मयूरवर्मिकूर्माश्च श्रेष्ठा मांसगणध्वजः ।

Susruta. Su. 46.333.

⁵ Caraka. Su. 27. 36, 38.

⁶ Caraka. Su. 6. 11-12.

⁷ मृतं कृशं चालिमेघं वृद्धं बालं विषहंतम् ।
अगोचरमृतम् व्यातयुदितमांसमुत्सृजेत् ।

Caraka. Su. 27.311.

Meat soup, prepared with *vidā* salt, cumin and asafoetida was considered a pleasant tonic.¹ Flesh was also cooked with fats, curds and sour gruel mixed with some aromatic spices.² Sometimes it was cooked in an oven (*Kandā*) with the powder of black mustard and some fragrant substances.³ Boneless flesh was boiled, and ground on a piece of stone to make a stuffing. Some aromatic spices such as long pepper, black pepper and ginger, *guda* and clarified butter were also added to it before use.⁴ Two varieties of stuffing (*vesavāra*) one sweet and the other saltish are mentioned.⁵ Seasoned meat, minced meat, meat roasted on spits or charcoal, fried in oil or clarified butter was relished.⁶

¹ प्रीणनः प्राणजननः द्वास्तकादस्यपहः ।

वातपित्तभ्रमहरो हृद्योवांसरसः स्मृतः ।

.....
आप्यायनः संहृतनः शुक्रदो बलवर्धनः ।

Susruta. Su. 46. 359-61.

² स्नेहमीसैः फलेः कन्दैः वैदलाम्लैश्च संपृताः ।

Susruta. Su. 46. 349.

स्नेहगोरसधान्याम्लफलाम्लकटुकैः सह, सिद्धं मांसं हितं कर्षरोचनं बृंहणं गुह ।

Susruta. Su. 46. 352.

³ विशिष्टं तीरमैलिप्तं कन्दुपक्वम् मधुप्रभम् ।

राजिकाकलकशिष्टं च कन्दुपाचितमुच्यते ।

Dalhaya on Susruta. Su. 46. 356.

⁴ मांसं निरस्त्रि सुस्विन्नं पुनर्दूषदि श्रेष्ठितम् ।

विष्पशीशुष्टिमरिचगुडसपिःसमन्वितम् ।

ऐक्यं पाचयेत् सन्धुं वेतवार इति स्मृतः ।

Susruta. Su. 46. 365-66.

⁵ Susruta. Su. 46. 364.

⁶ भृष्टं बहुषुते सिक्तं मुहुश्छान्मन्ता मृदु ।

जीरकादेर्वेनं मांसं परिशुष्कं तदुच्यते । तदेवगोरसादानं प्रदिग्बभिति श्रुतम् ।

Dalhaya on Susruta Su. 46 Sl. 353

जल्लुप्तं भजितं पिष्टं प्रतप्तं कन्दुपाचितम् ।

परिशुष्कं प्रदिग्धं च शूल्यं यच्चाप्यदीवृक्षम् ।

मांसं यतीवसिद्धं तद् वीर्योष्णं पित्तकृद् गुहः ।

Susruta. Su. 46. 356-57.

भजितं स्वाद् भृतादौ तु पिष्ट्वा यत्साधितं पुनः ।

अपूपान्निक्तं पिष्टं दधिदाहिमसौरभैः ।

सिद्धं साण्वैस्तथाज्जाणी सामुदमरिचैस्त्वया

यज्ञारादिषु यत्पक्वं प्रतापं तदुदाहृतम् ।

.....
सिक्त्वा सिक्त्वान्बुधाराभिः विधूमेऽनी प्रतापयेत्

फलाभ्येनापि यत्पक्वं शल्यं तत्सौरभान्वितम् ।

Dalhaya on the above

But daily use of seasoned meat is not recommended.¹ Meat was also cooked with rice, fruits and vegetables.² An omelet made of clarified butter, rice flour and eggs of crocodile was used by those addicted to excessive sexual indulgence.³ Just as in Manu, Yājñavalkya recommends meat diet for maintenance of life and on the occasion of sacrifices for gods or manes.⁴

HONEY AND SWEETS

Honey continued to be widely used and eight varieties of honey are mentioned in the medical works.⁵ Of these the variety collected by small bees (*mākṣika*) was considered the best and that by big black bees (*bhrāmara*) was considered heavy to digest.⁶ The use of honey was considered particularly useful in the rainy season.⁷

Many varieties of sugarcane are mentioned.⁸ Of these the thin reed variety called *Vamśaka* was considered the best while

¹ बल्लूरुगुक्कशाकानि शालूकानि विसानि च ।
नाम्यसेद् गौरवान्मांसं कृशं नैवोपयोजयेत् ।

Caraka. Su. 5.10.

² Caraka Su. 27.266, Susruta. Su. 46.407.

³ तप्ते सर्पिषि नक्राण्डं ताम्रचूडाण्डमिश्रितम् ।
युक्तं पष्टिकचूर्णेन सर्पिषाऽभिनवेन च ।
पक्त्वा पूषलिकां खावेद् वास्नीमण्डपोतरः ।
य इच्छेदश्ववद् गन्तुं प्रसेक्तुं गजवच्च यः ।

Caraka. Cikitsa. II. 28-29.

⁴ मत्तः क्षुण्णं मांसस्य विधिं भक्षणवर्जितम् ।
प्राणात्यये तथा धादे प्रीक्षितं द्विजकाम्यया ।
देवान् पितॄन् समभ्यर्च्य खादन् मांसं न दोषभाक् ।

Yaj. I. 178-79

⁵ The eight varieties are *Mākṣika*, *Bhrāmara*, *Kṣaudra*, *Pauṭtika*, *Chitra*, *Ārghya*, *Andālīka* and *Dāla*.

पीत्तिकं भ्रामरं क्षौद्रं माक्षिकं छात्रमेव च ।
आर्घ्यमोद्दालिकं दालमित्यष्टौ मधुजातयः ।

Susruta. Su. 45.133.

⁶ माक्षिकं भ्रामरं क्षौद्रं पीत्तिकं मधुजातयः ।
माक्षिकं प्रवरं तेषां विशेषाद् भ्रामरं गृहः ।

Caraka. Su. 27.242.

⁷ Caraka. Su. 6, Bhela, p. 25.

⁸ पीण्डको भीरुकश्चैव वंशकः श्वेतपोरकः ।
कान्तारस्तापसेक्षुश्च काण्डेक्षुः सूक्षिपत्रकः ।
नंपालो दीर्घपत्रश्च नीलपोरोऽप्य कोशकृत् ।

Susruta. Su. 45. 149-150.

old preparations were made more tasteful by the addition of some new ingredients. In the preparation of *Sanjyāva* wheat flour, milk, clarified butter, sugar, cardamom, pepper and ginger were used.¹ *Ghrītapūra* was also prepared with these substances but thin pieces of kernel of cocoanut were added to it.² *Madhusīrṣaka* or *Madhukeroḍa* was a sweet which was prepared with wheat flour but had honey or clarified butter inside.³ *Pūpalikā* was a small cake of rice or wheat flour fried in ghee with *gūḍa* inside.⁴ Sometimes a stuffing prepared with *Mudga* pulse was also used.⁵ Another sweet preparation with rice flour, milk, treacle and clarified butter is called *Utkārikā*.⁶ *Vartikā* was a similar sweet preparation in the form of a roll.⁷

Gandika—Sweets prepared with treacle and wheat flour. *Susruta*. Su. 46.394.

The old sweets such as *modaka*, *pūpa* and *phnaka* were in common use. (*Susruta* Su. 46.395-399). *Pupas* were also prepared with milk and sugarcane juice (*Kīreksūrasa—pūpakūḥ*).

¹ मधुशीर्षकस्यावाः पूपा ये ते विशेषतः

Susruta. Su. 46.392.

गोधूमसमिता मधु दुग्धेन मोदयित्वा सुखोभनाम्
पचेद् घृतोत्तरे खण्डे क्षिपेद् भाण्डे नवे ततः।
स्यावोऽसौ घृतवचूर्णःखण्डेसामरिचार्द्रकैः।

Dalhāṇa.

² मदिताः समिताः क्षीरनालिकेरसितादिभिः।

अवगाह्य घृते पक्वो घृतपूरोऽयमुत्तमः।

Susruta. Su. 46.393.

गोधूमपटच्चुडिकां क्षीरेण संमर्द्य सर्पिषा निस्ताप्यं पक्त्वा सितायुक्तां कुर्याद् इत्येव
हविष्पूरः धेवर इति लोके।

Sri Kanṭhadatta Vṛnda Siddhayoga.

³ *Susruta*. Su. 46. 395.

समितावेष्टिताः पाकषणीभूताः मधुभूतोदराः मधुमस्तकाः त एव मधुशीर्षकाः।

Dalhāṇa.

पाकषणीभूतमधुगर्भः गोधूमपिष्टकः वेष्टितः पक्वः सचतुर्जतिकादि भक्ष्यविशेषः
मधुमस्तकः। अन्ये तु गोधूमसमितां घृतयुक्तां तोष्यं मर्दयित्वा घृतमधुपूयित्वा घृतेन पक्त्वा सिता-
युक्तं कुर्यादित्येव मधुमस्तकः।

Sri Kanṭhadatta Vṛnda Siddhayoga.

⁴ विमर्द्य समितापूर्णं मधुनाकं गुडान्वितम्।

घृतावगाहे गुडिकां वृत्तां पक्वां सकेसराम्।

सौगन्धिकाधिवासाच्च कुर्यात्पूपलिकां बुधः।

Nala quoted by *Cakrapāṇi*.

⁵ *Mudga Vesavāra*—*Susruta*. Su. 46.399.

⁶ *Utkārikā*—*Caraka*. Ci. 2, Sweets prepared with milk treacle and ghee.

⁷ *Vartikā*—Sweets in the form of a roll.

Also see *Vigyānda* F. D. A. I. Ch. V. p. 137, f. n. 2.

SALT, SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

Caraka mentions five varieties of salts¹—rock salt, *sauvarcal*, *biḍa*, *andbhida* and sea salt. Susruta adds some more varieties.² Of all these varieties the rock salt was considered the best.³

A number of spices were used for seasoning but the most common were long pepper, black pepper, ginger, asafoetida, cumin, coriander and cardamom. Some green leaves and fruits were also used in the preparation of various dishes.⁴ The use of onions and garlic is interdicted in the Smṛtis.⁵ Of all the aromatic spices long pepper and dry ginger were regarded the best.⁶

Sour gruel was prepared with cooked rice or barley.⁷ Vinegar was prepared with butter milk mixed with *guda* or honey. The mixture was fermented by keeping the pot containing the mixture in a heap of corn.⁸ Dalhaṇa mentions three varieties

¹ सौवर्चलं सैन्धवं च बिडमीदभिदमेव च ।

सामुद्रेण सहैतानि पञ्चस्युल्लेखानि च ।

Caraka Su. I. 88-89.

² The additional varieties mentioned by Susruta are—*Romaka*, *Vālukaila*, *Sailamūlākaradbhava*, *Ūjara*, *Gutikā*, *Yavakṣāra*, *Svarjikakṣāra*, *Pākiṇa* and *Takkapakṣāra*. (Susruta. Su. 46. 320-322).

³ सैन्धवं लवणेषु च ।

Susruta. Su. 46.336.

⁴ Caraka. Su. 27. 164-175, 294-297.

Asafoetida is called *Babūka* by Bhela which shows that it was imported from Afghanistan.

⁵ पलाण्डुं हिं बराहं च छत्राकं चापकुक्कुटम्
लशुनं मूञ्जनंचैव जम्बूयां चान्द्रावणं चरेत् ।

Yaj. I. 176.

⁶ Dry ginger is called a *penacea* (*Vīṣabhakṣa*) in Caraka. Su. 25.37.

धानी दाडिममलेखु पिप्पली नागरं कटी ।

Susruta. Su. 46.336.

⁷ Two varieties of sour gruel, one prepared with the husk of cereals (*tujāmāṇa*, Susruta. Su. 45. 213) and the other with grains (*ābhāyāmāṇa*, Susruta Su. 45.214) were in use. Sour gruel was considered good for sea faring men.

सगृध्माशितानाञ्च जनानां सात्वयमुच्यते ।

Susruta. Su. 45.216.

⁸ यन्मस्तवादिशुचीमाण्डं सगृध्नीद्रकाञ्जिकम् ।

धान्यराशी विराजस्य शुक्लं चूर्णं तदुच्यते ।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka. Su. 27.284.

C.f. Kaṣyapa. Bhojana 46.

of vinegar prepared from *guḍa*, juice of sugarcane and honey.¹ Vegetables such as radish and gourd were preserved in vinegar.²

A sweet liquid preparation from the juice of sour fruits such as tamarind, rose apple, *Parāṣaka* and citrus medica was called *Rāga*. Black mustard was used to make it pungent and sugarcandy to sweeten it.³ Jellics prepared with fruit juices were called *Ṣaḍavas*.⁴

According to another interpretation *Rāgaṣaḍava* was a preparation of green mango fruit. The fruit was boiled, the skin removed and treacle added to the juice. It was fumigated with oil and dry ginger and some salt and spices were added to it before use.⁵ A preparation of curds with *Kapittha* and *Cāngeri*, pepper, cumin and some other spices was called *Khaḍa*,⁶ but when oil, sesamum, and māṣa were added to it, it was called *Kāmbalika*.⁷

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Among the fats used in food Caraka mentions, clarified butter, oils and animal fats, *Vasā* and *Majjā*. He recommends

¹ गुडाम्बुना सतलेन सन्धानं कञ्जिकन्तु यत्
कन्दशाकफलैर्युक्तं गुडयुक्तं तदुच्यते ।
रसशुक्लानि हस्तुरसादिशुक्ता न
जम्बोरस्य फलरसं पिप्पलीमू लसंयुतम् ।
मधुभाण्डे विनिक्षिप्य धान्यराशौ । निधापयेत्
अद्वेष्टेण तज्जातरसं मधुसुततमुदोद्धृतम् ।

Dalhaṇa on Susruta. Su. 45.212.

² Vegetables preserved in vinegar were called *Āṇṭa*.

शुक्लमध्यस्थितं मूलककूष्माण्डादि ।

Susruta. Su. 45.211.

³ शितारुचकसिन्धूरयैः सवृक्षाम्लपरुषकैः ।
जम्बूफलरसैर्युक्तो रागो राजिकयः शिवितः ।

Kasyapa. Bhojana. 48.

⁴ पाण्डवस्तु मधुराम्लद्रव्यकृतः ।

Kasyapa. Bhojana. 48.

⁵ क्वथितन्तु गुडोपेतं सहकारफलं नवम् ।
तैलनागरसंयुक्तं विशेषोरागपाण्डवः ।

Caraka. Su. 27.

⁶ कपित्थतक्रबाङ्गेरी मरिचाजानिषिक्तैः ।
सुपक्वैः खड्गमुषोऽयमथ कान्बलिका गोपरः ।
दध्यम्लतलवणस्नेहतिलमाषसमन्वितः ।

Nala quoted by Dalhaṇa.

⁷ दधिघस्तसम्लसिद्धस्तु यूपः कान्बलिकः स्मृतः ।

Susruta. Su. 46.381.

the use of clarified butter in autumn, animal fats in spring and oil in the rainy season. Of all the fats clarified butter was considered the best.¹ Among the oils sesamum oil was regarded as the best medium for cooking or frying but daily use of oils is not recommended.² A number of other seeds are mentioned from which oil was extracted and used in food.³

Caraka appears to have been familiar with the early use of oil by the non-Aryans. He states that by using oils the kings of *Daityas* conquered old age, remained healthy, did not feel tired and fought bravely in the battles.⁴ But Susruta does not recommend their excessive use because food articles cooked in oils are difficult to digest.⁵

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

The medical works mention a number of old fruits but add some new varieties and new fruits. *Janvira* is a new variety of

¹ सपिस्तैलं वत्तामज्जा सर्वस्नेहोत्तमा मताः।

एषु चैवोत्तमं सर्पिः संस्कारत्वनुवर्तनात्। ११' ३।

सर्पिः शरदि पातव्यं वसामज्जा च माधवे।

तैलं प्रावृषिनात्युष्णशीते स्नेहं विवेच्यते। १८।

Caraka. Su. 13.13, 18.

² सर्वेषां तैलजातानां तिलतैलं विशिष्यते।

Caraka. Su. 13.12.

नित्यानिष्पातमविधौ तिलतैलं घृते बुधः प्रबुद्धं जीत।

Kasyapa. 17.9.

सर्वेभ्यस्तिलह् तैलेभ्यस्तिलतैलं विशिष्यते।

Susruta. Su. 45.130.

³ Bhela mentions sesamum, *eranda*, *l ulva*, *vibhītaka*, *keśi*, *haratja* and *ingūnā* among the oilseeds from which oil was extracted.—Bhela. p. 49.

Caraka also mentions *Sarpapa* (mustard), *Priyāla*, *Atarī* (linseed), *Kasumbha* (safflower)—Caraka. Su. 27. 281-90.

तिलः त्रिपाताभिषुकी विभीतकपिचमाभर्वा ञ्जमधूक सर्वपाः।

कुसुम्भ विल्लाखमूलकातसी भिकोचकाजोड कारञ्ज शिपूकाः।

Caraka. Su. 13.10.

⁴ तैलप्रयोगादजरानिर्विकारा जितश्रमाः।

मासत्रतिवला संख्ये इत्याधिरतमः पुरा।

Caraka. Su. 27.286.

Probably, on account of its exotic nature, Patanjali refers to the belief that a Brāhmaṇa should not sell oil.

तैलं न विव्रेतन्यम्

Mahābhāṣya Kīlhorn Pt. I. p. 25.

⁵ विदाहिनस्तैलकृता गुरुवः कटुप्राणिनः।

जण्णा मासतद्विद्वज्जाः पित्तलास्त्वक् प्रो दुग्णाः।

Susruta. Su. 46.406.

jujube besides the old three. Oranges (*nāgarāṅga*), *Bhavya* (*Delenia speciosa*) and *Pārāvata* are some of the new fruits. Two varieties of grapes, pomegranates and *Parūṣakas*, one sweet and the other sour are mentioned.¹

Among the best fruits Suśruta mentions pomegranates, *āmalaka* (emblic myrobalan), grapes, dates, *parūṣaka*, *rājādana*, and *mātālūṅga* (citrus medica).² We learn from Yuan Chwang that peaches and pears were introduced into India by the Chinese in the first century A.D.³ In the Bhārhut railings and the Stūpa of Sāñchī there is a figure of an Indo-Greek king holding a bunch of grapes with a vine leaf attached to it. It indicates that grapes were probably imported from the North West of India.⁴ Some dry fruits such as almonds, walnuts, pistachio were also used.⁵ All fruits diseased and eaten by maggots, over ripe, unseasonal and unripe were avoided.⁶ Bhela especially recommends the use of *āmalaka*, *baritaki* and *vibbitaki*.⁷

¹ Caraka mentions the following fruits:—

Grapes, date, *phaḷgu*, *parūṣaka*, *bassia-latifolia*, *āmṛātaka*, palm fruit, *badara*, *āruka*, *karṇandbu*, *lakusa*, *pārāvata*, *kālmāyaphala*, *līḍa*, *inika*, *kapiṭṭha*, *bilva*, mango, *jambī*, *sikṣitika* (apples), *gāṅgruka*, *todana*, *dhavvana*, *panasa* (jack fruit), *mora* (banana), *bhāṅgipphala*, *vikanakata*, *prāśināmalaka*, *iṅgulipphala*, *tinduka*, *āmalaka*, *vibbitaka*, *granate*, *vrkṣāṁḍa*, *amṛtka* (tamarind), *amṛtvetasa*, *mātālūṅga* (citrus), *nāgarāṅga* (oranges), *vātāma* (almond), *abbīṭūka* (pistachio), *laka*, *nikoraka*, *urumāṅga*, *śleṣmātaka*, *anaka*, *śamīphala*, *karāñja*, *aramardaka*, *vātāka*, *paryātakīphala*, *akṣikīphala*, *anupaki*, *alvatīḥa*, *ikṣa*, *nyagrodha* and *bhallātaka*.

Caraka. Su. 27. 122-62.

C.f. Suśruta. Su. 46, 139, 163, 177, 182, 187, 190-96.

² दाडि रामलकं द्राक्षा क्षजूरं सपरुषकम्
राज दितं मातुलुङ्गं फलवर्गं प्रशस्यते।

Suśruta. 46.335.

For : condiment and jellies prepared from sour fruits please see 'Spices and Condiments' F. D. A. I. Chapter V p. 147.

³ Watters Vol. I. p. 179. See F. D. A. I. p. 183, f. n. 1.

⁴ Cunningham—Bhārhut, pp. 32-33.

⁵ Gindwedel—Buddhist Art, p. 34, Fig. 10.

⁶ वृतामाषोदाभिश्चूर्निचुलपिचुनिकोषकोरुमाणप्रभृतीनि।

Suśruta. Su. 46.187.

⁶ व्याधितं कृमिजुष्टं च पाकातीतमकालजम्।

वर्जनीयं फलं सर्वमवर्णितमेव च।

Suśruta. Su. 46. 210.

⁷ प्रभुक्स्वामलकं खादेद् भुक्त्वा चापि हरीतकीम्

परिणामे च भुक्तस्य खादेज्ज्वं विभीतकीम्।

Bhela. p. 13.

called *khada*.¹ Another preparation of pot herbs was called *sindāki*. The pot herb was boiled and water squeezed out of it. Then some aromatic spices such as black cumin and black mustard were added to it and cakes formed of it. It was very much liked in *Suhma* country.²

INTOXICATING DRINKS

All the medical works prescribe a limited use of wines and consider this habit good for health, especially in the winter season.³ Caraka regards drinking as pleasing, digestive, nourishing and providing intelligence, if it is indulged in a proper manner.⁴ Excessive use of intoxicating liquors is interdicted, particularly in the summer and rainy seasons.⁵ The Bhela *Saṁhitā* gives recipes of many beverages which were taken to do away with the effect of excessive drinking. This makes us infer that there were some people who were in the habit of drinking too much.⁶

Intoxicating drinks prepared with barley, rice,⁷ sugar,

¹ सशाकपल्लवेन कुतोयूषः खडः।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka Su. 13.23

C.f. Suśruta. Su. 46.378.

² Suśruta. Su. 46.382.

मूलकादि शाकमेव किञ्चित् स्विन्नं क्षुण्णं सुगन्धिकटुकद्रव्यान्वितं वटकीकृतं सुहोषु सिण्हाकीत्युच्यते।

Dalhāṇa on the above.

Suhma=part of Rādhā country. Districts of Hooghly, Hawrah, Bankura and Bardwan and the eastern portion of Midnapur.

³ बृहणं नेदशं किञ्चिदध्यासहितमुरा।

तां तु रुक्षो विशेषेण नातिमात्रं समाचरेत्।

Bhela. p. 32.

⁴ स्रोतसां शोषनं जीर्णं दीपनं लघु रोचनम्।१६१।

हृष्यणं प्रीणनं बल्यं भयशोकत्रयापहम्।

प्रागल्भ्यं वीर्यं प्रतिभा तुष्टिं पुष्टिबलप्रदम्।१६२।

सात्विकं विधियद्बुद्ध्या पीतं स्यादमृतम् यथा।

Caraka. Su. 27. 191-193.

⁵ प्रमाणेन पिबेन्नद्यं नाति सेवेत पण्डितः।

युक्त्या तु सेव्यमानं तत्पानममृतमुच्यते।

Bhela p. 217.

सुरा कृशानां पुष्ट्यर्थमनुपानं विधीयते।

Caraka. Su. 27.323.

⁶ See F. D. A. I. Chapter V. p. 159.

⁷ *Surā* (prepared from barley or rice paste).

सुरा समण्डायवानाम्

Caraka. Su. 27.188.

It was also prepared from *madbālikā* variety of wheat. Other varieties of intoxicating drinks prepared from cereals were:—

(a) *Prasannā* (cream of *śrā*)—Suśruta. Su. 45.178.

boiled and unboiled juice of sugarcane, *guda*¹ and *vibhitaka*² were in common use. Sometimes in the preparation of these intoxicating drinks in place of water *surā* was used and it was called *surāsava*.³ Liquors were also prepared with *madhūka* (*Bassia latifolia*) flowers and honey.⁴ Wine was also used.⁵ Susruta also mentions liquor prepared from dates.⁶ All the varieties mentioned by Kautilya were in use in this period. Distilled liquors were also used.⁷

In the Viṣṇudharma Sūtra (c. 100 A.D. to c. 300 A.D.) we come across a prohibition against the use by Brāhmaṇas of ten kinds of intoxicating drinks prepared from *Madhūka* flowers, sugarcane juice, fruit of kapittha, jujube, dates, jack fruit, grapes, honey, and cocoanut, the tenth variety being *maireyaka*, the spiced liquor.

(b) *Jagala* (residue of wine)—Caraka. Su. 27.179, Susruta. Su. 45.180.

(c) *Bakkaṣa* (solid ingredients of *surā* devoid of liquid)—Susruta. Su. 45.181.

(d) *Kobala* (prepared from parched barley flour). Susruta. Su. 45.180.

सुरामयः प्रसन्ना स्यात् ततः कादम्बरी घना।

तदधो जगलोमेयो मेवको जगलाद् घनः।

घनकाशः हृत्कारः स्यात् सुराबीजं च विपक्वम्।

Dravyaguṇa Vijñāna Pt. II, p. 3.

¹ *Sarkarāsiddhu*, *Sarkarāsava* (prepared from sugar)—Caraka. Su. 27.183, Susruta. Su. 45.183.

Pakvāsava (prepared from boiled juice of sugarcane)—Susruta. Su. 45.184.

Sitarasa (prepared from unboiled juice of sugarcane)—Susruta. Su. 45.185.

Gudāsiddhu or *Gudāsava* (prepared from treacle and flowers of *dhātaki*)—Caraka. Su. 27.184.

² *Ākṣikīsiddhu* (prepared from the bark of *akṣa*)—Caraka. Su. 27.184.

³ *Surāsava*—Caraka. Su. 27.185, Susruta. Su. 45.187.

⁴ *Mādhūka*—(prepared from *madhūka* flowers)—Caraka. Su. 6.39, 27.185, Susruta. Su. 45.190.

Madhu or *madhūāsava* (prepared from honey)—Caraka. Su. 27.187.

⁵ *Māśarūka* (prepared from grapes)—Susruta. Su. 45.172.

⁶ *Kṣārjūra* (prepared from dates, Susruta. Su. 45.174). It was also called *Vārapī*.

या तावन्नर्जूरसंरामृता साहि वाहणी।

Dravya Guṇa Vijñāna, II, p. 33

⁷ An intoxicating drink in which the solid ingredients predominate is called *ariṣṭa*, one in which the liquid part predominates is called *asava* and the liquor in which both are equally important is called *maṣya* (Susruta. Su. 45.194).

द्रव्यप्रधानपरिच्छेदं द्रव्यप्रधानं शासकः उभयप्रधानमेषांम्।

Dalhaga.

It makes us infer that these were the popular drinks with the non-Brahmanical classes.¹

DRINKING WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

For drinking purposes the rich, who were accustomed to taking dainties, used pure rain water especially in the rainy season.² Other sources of drinking water were wells, rivers, lakes, tanks, waterfalls and springs. It is laid down that in the rainy season either pure rainwater or boiled well or spring water should be used. In the winter season water from lakes and tanks should be used. Water from waterfalls or wells was used in the spring and summer seasons.³ It was believed that water of rivers flowing towards the west was easily digestible while that of rivers flowing towards the east was considered difficult to digest.⁴

Water having small insects or foul smell, thick, dirty or sticky was considered unfit for drinking,⁵ but dirty water could be purified by mixing it with *kataka*, *gomedaka*, lotus root, *śaivāla-māla*, pearls or alum and straining it in a piece of cloth.⁶ Hot water was cooled in many ways, by immersing a water pitcher in cool water, by exposing water to currents of cool breeze, by

- ¹ माधुकर्मक्षवं टाङ्कं कौलं क्षार्जूरपानसे।
मृदीका रस माध्वीके मरेयं तारिकेलवम्।
शमेध्यानि दधंतानि मद्यानि ब्राह्मणस्य च।
राजन्यश्चैवैवैयवच स्पृष्ट्वंतानि न दुष्यति।

Vishnu Dh. Su. 22.83-84.

- ² सर्वानुपानेषु वरं वदन्ति मेघ्यं यदम्भः शुचिमाजनस्वम्।

Susruta. Su. 46.421.

Pure rain water is called *Gāṅga* while the impure one is named *sāmudra* (Susruta. Su. 45.7).

C.f. Susruta. Su. 45.3, Caraka. Su. 27.194.

- ³ तत्र वर्षास्त्वान्तरिक्षमग्निद्वंद्वं वा सेवेत महानुणत्वात्; शरदि सर्बं प्रसन्नत्वात्; हेमन्ते शारत्तं ताडागं वा, वसन्ते कौषं प्रासवणं वा, ग्रीष्मेप्येवं; प्रावृषि चोष्ट्यमनमिबुष्टं सर्वं चेति।

Susruta. Su. 45.8.

- ⁴ तत्र नद्यः पश्चिमाभिमुखः पथ्याः लघूदकत्वात् पूर्वाभिमुखास्तु न प्रवात्यन्ते गुरुदकत्वात्।

Susruta. Su. 45.21.

C.f. Caraka. Su. 27.207.

- ⁵ पिच्छिलं कृमिलं क्लृप्तं पणशं बालकर्मैः।

विवर्णविरसं सान्द्रदुग्धं न हितं जलम्।

Caraka. Su. 27. 213-214.

C.f. Kasyapa. p. 358, Susruta. Su. 45. 9-11.

- ⁶ तत्र सप्त कलुपस्य प्रसादनानि भवन्ति। तद्यथा कृतक, गोमेदक, बिसप्रन्धि, शैवालमूल, वस्त्राणि मुक्ता गणिवचेति।

Susruta. Su. 45.17.

churning it with a stick, by fanning, by siphoning it by means of a piece of linen, by burying the pitcher underneath a bed of sand and keeping it suspended on a pendent bracket.¹ Five kinds of stands were used for keeping water pots.²

Besides warm and cool water, liquors, soups of cereals, sour gruel and fruit juices, there were some other beverages which were used to aid digestion.³ Two kinds of syrups were prepared from treacle one sweet and the other sour. In the sour syrup the juice of such fruits as grapes and tamarind was used. Sometimes some aromatic spices were added to make it more tasty.⁴ Syrups were also prepared with grapes, *parhṛaka*, jujube, dates, honey and the juice of sugarcane.⁵

The Bhela Saṁhitā gives the recipe of a beverage which was very effective in quenching thirst. It was prepared with pounded berries, treacle, black pepper, saffron, cardamom and the juice of *Jāti* flowers.⁶ Another syrup was called *Kālmarya-*

¹ सपाशीहीकरणानिभवन्ति, तद्यथा प्रवातस्थापनम् उदकप्रक्षेपणं, यष्टिकाभ्रामणं, व्यञ्जनं, वस्त्राभरणम् दातुका प्रक्षेपणं शिख्यादलम्बनं चेति ।

Susruta, Su. 43.19.

² पञ्चनिक्षेपाणि भवन्ति । तद्यथा—फलकंश्यष्टकं मुञ्जवलयः, उदकं गच्छिका, शिख्य-
न्वेति ।

Susruta, Su. 43.18.

³ शीतोष्णतोषांसव मद्ययूप फलाम्ल घन्याम्लययो रसानाम् ।

यस्मान् पानं तु हितं भवेद्यत्तस्मै प्रदेयं त्विह माजयातत् ।

Susruta, Su. 46.419.

मुखेन पाचयत्यन्नं रोचयत्यपकर्षति

घ्नन् पानं मनुष्याणां सात्मतां च प्रयच्छति ।

Bhela, XVII. p. 17.

⁴ गोदधम्लमनम्लं वा पानकं गृहयूवजम् ।

तदेव खण्डमृद्धीकाशर्करासहितं पुनः

गाम्भं सतीक्ष्णं सहिर्यपानकं स्वाशिरत्ययम् ।

Susruta, Su. 46.389.

कपित्थबिल्वनदरद्राक्षदाडिमचूतजैः

फलयूषं कलैरामं जीर्णीलीसारनाशनम् ।

Kasyapa, p. 250.46.

⁵ द्राक्षाखर्जूरकोलानां गृहविष्टम्भिपानकम्

परूपकाणां शीतस्य यच्चेक्षुविकृतिं प्रति ।

Caraka, Su. 27.274.

⁶ कर्कत्पू बदराणां च प्रस्थं कुशीत् सुकुट्टितम् ।

सप्रस्थं गालवंस्तोषे क्षप्तं कृत्वा पुनः पुनः

मुष्णये तन्नवे नाण्डे स्वनुगतं निषापयेत् ।

द्वे च दद्याद्गुडपले शर्करायाः पलं तथा ।

pānaka. It was given to a person who drank excessively.¹

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The authors of our medical works knew the value of cooking articles of food on a slow fire.² Besides the old preparations of cereals, meat, vegetables and fruit they describe some new dishes such as a soup from parched rice, preparations of boiled pulses, or sprouted grains. They also mention some condiments prepared from fruits and vegetables preserved in vinegar. No preparations could be considered good for health unless one knows the properties of various substances and the effect of mixing various substances. For this reason there is a detailed description of these in the medical works. They have a separate section for cooked articles and describe in detail which preparations are easily digestible and which are difficult to digest. Caraka says that spiced soups are more difficult to digest than unspiced ones.³ The same writer states that preparations fried in oil or clarified butter are difficult to digest while those parched without these fats are easily digestible.⁴

सूक्ष्मं च मरिचात्कषं चतुर्थकैसरस्य च
त्वक्पत्र भरगेद्वेच सूक्ष्मैलाकषमेव च।
अमृणालार्धकषं च सूक्ष्मचूर्णानि कारयेत्।
जालीरससमोपेतं पानकं पानविभ्रमे।

Bhela. p. 218.

¹ To make this *pānaka* juices of *kāsmārya*, pomegranates, grapes, *madhūka*, and *parīṣaka* were mixed with the powder of *kusaja*, *madhūka*, *lodhra*, *manjiṣṭha*, *cardamom*, pepper and filament of blue lotus and water was added to the mixture.

काश्मर्यं दाडिमं द्राक्षा मधुकं सखरुषणम्
कुटुजानि च संसृज्य प्रसिपत्तु जलाङ्के।
सूक्ष्मैला मधुकं लोध्रम् मञ्जिष्ठा पिप्पलीतथा
एतानि सूक्ष्म चूर्णानि दद्यात्पानं च युक्तितः।
कैसरं चात्रदातव्यं पुष्पनीलोत्पलस्य च।
एतत्पानात्यये देयं तृषाच्छदिनिवारणम्।

Bhela. p. 219.

² मृदुपाकाश्च ये भक्ष्याः स्थूलाश्च कठिनाश्च ये।
गुरुवस्ते व्यतिक्रान्तपाकाः पुष्टिदलप्रदाः।

Caraka. Su. 27.270.

³ अकृतं कृतयूषं च तन् सांस्कारिकं रक्तम्।
सूपमम्लमनम्लं च गुरुं विद्याद्यथोत्तरम्।

Caraka. Su. 27, 257.

⁴ सस्नेहाः स्नेहसिद्धाश्च भक्ष्या विविधलक्षणाः
गुरुवस्तर्पणा वृष्या हृद्या गोधूमिका मताः।

The kitchen was to be clean and uncongested, and cooks reliable. Clarified butter was served in a vessel of iron, beverages like meat soups in a silver vessel, fruits and sweets on leaves, seasoned and fried meat preparations in vessels of gold, all kinds of fruit preparations in vessels of stone, boiled milk in a copper vessel, water, syrups and intoxicating drinks in earthenware and *Rāga*, *Saffaka* and *Śāḍava* in vessels of glass or precious stones.¹

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

As in the previous period the practice of offering food to gods, forefathers, dogs, crows and extending hospitality to guests was common. Just as in the *Manusmṛti*, children, daughter, newly married girls, pregnant women, guests and servants were fed before the householder and his wife took their meals.² The old practice of cooking a big ox or a big goat for a Vedic scholar is mentioned by Yājñavalkya.³ It is possible that the animals may have been let off after being presented to the distinguished guest for slaughter and not actually killed as was suggested in the *Asv. Gr. Su. I. 24-25*.

Purity in food is emphasised as before both in medical works and the *Smṛtis*. They lay down that the place where a person takes his meals should be clean. Food should be served in clean

यस्कारालवचः सन्ति भक्ष्याः गोघृण पैष्टिकाः ।

धानापर्यटपुपाद्यास्तान् बुद्ध्वा निदिशेत्तु यः ।

Caraka. Su. 27, 266-67.

Susruta. Su. 46.446.

- ¹ वक्ष्याम्यतः परं कृत्स्नामाहारस्योपकल्पनाम्
घृतं काष्णायिते देयं पेया देवानु राजते । ४४६
फलानि सर्वभक्ष्याश्च प्रदद्याद्दलेषु तु
परिशुष्कप्रदिग्धानि शीवेणैव प्रकल्पयेत् । ४४७
प्रदद्याणि रतारिषैव राजतेषूपहारयेत् ।
ऋद्वराणि खडांसैव सर्वाञ्छीलेषु दापयेत् । ४४८
दद्यात्ताम्रमयं पात्रं सुशीतं सुसूतं पयः ।
पानीयं पानकं मद्यं मृन्मयेषु प्रदापयेत् । ४४९
काचस्कटिकपात्रेषु शीतलेषु शुभेषु च ।
वद्याद् वैदूर्यकिन्नेषु रागपात्रवसटुकान् । ४५०

Susruta. Su. 46 and 450-453.

² *Vishnu. Dh. Su. LXVII, Yajna, V 102, 103, 108, 111.*

³ महोक्षं वा महानं वा योत्रियायोपकल्पयेत् सत्किञ्चान्वासनं स्वादुभोजनं सूतं वचः ।
Yaj. I, 109.

utensils by clean servants.¹ The Smṛtis lay down almost all those rules which Manu has laid for avoiding food having impure substances or offered by undesirable persons. But the list has been amplified, in this period, by the addition of a person who does not perform a sacrifice, a miser, a prisoner, a thief, a eunuch, a person who charges a very high rate of interest.² Of the Sūtras the food offered by a family servant, a cowherd, a family friend, and a family barber could be accepted. Food articles fried in clarified butter could be eaten even if they were kept overnight. Preparations of wheat, barley, or milk could be eaten even if they were not cooked in clarified butter.³

¹ तस्मात्काले सात्त्व्यं नात्रावदुष्णं स्निग्धमविरोधि शुचीदेशे शुचिद्वा पात्रेषु शुचिपरिचरेणोपनीतं प्राहुर्मुखसूतृष्णीस्तन्मना आत्वादयन्नतिद्वितं नातिविलम्बितं नात्युष्णं नातिशीतं नातिरुक्षं, नातिस्निग्धं, नातिबहु नातिस्तोकं नातिद्रवम् नातिशुष्कम् नाकाक्षितो न प्रतान्तो नैकरसं वाऽरोम्यायुर्वसार्थी समश्नीयात्।

Kasyapa. Khila. V. 3.

C.f.

उष्णमश्नीयात्, स्निग्धमश्नीयात्, मात्रावदश्नीयात् जीर्णैश्नीयात्, वीर्याविषदमश्नीयात् इष्टेदेवो इष्टसर्वोपकरणं चाश्नीयात् नातिद्रुतमश्नीयात्, नातिविलम्बितमश्नीयात्, अजल्पन्नहसन् तन्मना भुञ्जीत। आत्मानमभिसमीक्ष्य भुञ्जीत सप्यक्।

Caraka. Vimana. I. 30.

² अग्निहीनस्य नाश्वमद्यादनापदि। १६०

कदर्यबद्धचौराणां क्लीवरंगावतारिणाम्।

वर्णाभिशस्त वार्धुष्य गणित गणदीक्षिणाम्। १६१

षिकित्सकानुरक्तुर्दुर्गुणस्वलीमत्तविद्विषाम्।

क्रूरोऽपतित व्रात्य दाम्भिकोच्छिष्टभोजिनाम्। १६२

अवीरस्त्री स्वर्णकार स्त्रीजित ग्रामयाजिनाम्।

शस्त्रविक्रय कर्मार तन्तुवाय श्ववृत्तिनाम्। १६३

नृशंभराज रजक कृतघ्न वधजीविनाम्।

भैल धाव मुराजीव सहोपपति वेदमनाम्। १६४

एषामन्नं न भोक्तव्यम् सोमविक्रयिणस्तथा।

गोघ्रातं शकुनोच्छिष्टं पदास्पृष्टं च कामतः। १६५

पिशुना नृतिनोश्चैव तथा चाक्रिकं वन्दिनाम्।

अनचितं बुधमांसं केशकीटसमन्वितम्। १६६

शुक्लं पर्युषितोच्छिष्टं श्वस्पृष्टं पतितेक्षितम्।

उदश्वास्पृष्टं संघुष्टं पर्याषात्रं च वर्जयेत्। १६७

Yaj. I. 160-167.

³ शुद्धेवदासगोपालकुलमित्रावसूरिणः

भोग्यान्नानापितश्चैव दश्चत्वारानं निवेदयेत्। १६८।

अन्नं पर्युषितं भोग्यं स्नेहाक्तचिरसंभृतम्।

अस्नेहा अपि गोभूमयवगोरसविक्रियाः। १६९।

Yaj. I. 168-169.

The Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra lays down that a person should not eat during an eclipse of the moon or of the sun or when a cow, a Brāhmaṇa or a king meets with an accident,¹ nor must he eat bad food nor from a bad dish.²

The practice of washing hands and feet and honouring food was common even in this period.³ It is also laid down that a person should never revile food served to him.⁴ Generally, people took two principal meals and it was considered improper to take a third meal. It is also laid down that a person should avoid the evening meal if he had satiated himself during the day,⁵ and that a person should take a meal only when he felt hungry.⁶ One should never take too much food nor should he be keen to eat the food of others unless invited to do so with respect.⁷ There is a general rule that a person should divide his stomach into four parts. He should fill half the stomach with solid food, one fourth with liquid food and one fourth part he should leave empty for the movement of wind.⁸

Another important rule laid down by our medical works is that food articles should change according to seasons. For winter flesh of certain animals, intoxicating drinks prepared from molasses, preparations of milk, animal fats and new rice are allow-

¹ Viṣṇu. Dharma. Sūtra. LXVIII. 1-3.

² Viṣṇu. Dharma. Sūtra. LXVIII. 49.

³ Viṣṇu. Dharma. Sūtra. LXVIII. 34-35.

⁴ Viṣṇu. Dharma. Sūtra. LXVIII. 62.

कृतानि कार्यो भुञ्जीत वाग्यतो दुर्वन्भक्ष्यम् ।

आपोद्यानक्रियापूर्वं सत्कृत्यान्नकुत्तयन् ।

Yaj. I. 37.

⁵ Viṣṇu. Dharma. Sūtra. LXVIII. 48.

कालेनलोषं स्वदते तुष्टिः पुष्टिश्च वर्धते ।

सुखेन जीयते न स्पृः प्रतान्ताजीर्णजागदाः ।

Kaśyapa. Khila. V. 11.

⁶ Caraka. Viṣṇu. I. 30.

⁷ परमाकर्षणं स्वादनिश्चान्नप्राणादृते

वाक्पाणिपादवापस्य वर्जयेच्चातिभोजनम् ।

Yaj. I. 112.

मात्राशीत्यात् । आहार मात्रा पुनरग्निवज्रपेक्षिणी । यावद्यस्यान्नमक्षितमनुपहृत्य प्रकृतिं यथाकालं जरी गच्छेदिति तावदस्य मात्राप्रमाणं वेदितव्यं भवति ।

Caraka. So. V. 2.

⁸ भागद्वयमिहान्नस्य तृतीयमुदकस्य च । १३

वायोः संचरणार्थं च चतुर्थमवशेषवेत् । १४

Kaśyapa. Khila. V. 53-54.

ed as these things are considered difficult to digest and could be eaten in winter when the digestive system is good. All easily digestive articles are not recommended. In summer all these articles are prohibited and easily digestible articles, such as groats with sugar and water, flesh of wild beasts, milk, clarified butter, and rice could be used. Only a little quantity of diluted liquor is recommended.¹

The medical works also give a list of those articles which they consider easily digestible and which could be used daily and a list of those which should not be used daily. *Ṣaṭṭika* rice, *śāli* rice, *mudga*, rock salt, *āmālaka*, barley, rain water, milk, clarified butter, meat of wild animals and honey could be used daily while preparations of rice meal, rice, *pr̥thuka*, seasoned meat, dry vegetables, tubers and stalks of lotus, and meat of diseased animals were to be avoided. Preparations of inspissated milk, flesh of a pig, cow, a buffalo, fish, curds, barley and *māṣa* should not be used daily.²

¹ In the winter season :—

तस्मात् पारसमयेस्निग्धाम्लवणान्नान्
धीदकानूपमांसानि मध्यानामुपयोजयेत् । ११
त्रिलेश्यानां मांसानि प्रसहानां भूतानि च ।
भक्षयेन्मदिरां सीधुं मधु पानुपिवेश्वरः । १२
गोरसानिशुषिकृतीवसां तैलं नवीदनम् ।
हेमन्तेभ्यस्त्यतस्तोयमुष्णं चायुर्न हीयते । १३
वर्जयेदन्नपानानि लघूनि वातलानि च ।
प्रवातं प्रमिताहारमुदमन्थं हिमागमे । १७

In the summer season :—

शीतं सक्करं मन्थं जाङ्गलान्मृगपक्षिणः ।
घृतं पयः सशाल्यन्नं भजन्ग्रीष्मे न सीदति । २८
मद्यमत्स्यं न वा पेयमयवानुबहूदकम् ।
लवणाम्ल कटूष्णानि व्यायामं चात्र वर्जयेत् । २९

Caraka. Su. VI.

² दष्टिकाञ्जलिमुद्गांश्च स्रग्ध्रवामलके यवान्
घान्तरिक्षं पयः सपिर्जाङ्गलं मधुचाम्यसेत्

Caraka Su. V. 9.

गुहं पिष्टमयं तस्मात् तण्डुलान् पृथुकानपि ।
न जातु भुक्तवान् खादेन् मात्रां खादेद् बुभुक्षितः । ६।
बल्लूरं शुष्कशकानि शालुकानि त्रिसानि च ।
नाग्यसेद् गीरवान्मांसं कृशं नैवोपयोजयेत् । ७।
कृषिकांश्च किलाटांश्च शीकरं गव्यं माहिषं ।
मत्स्यान्दिधु च माषांश्च यवकांश्च न शीलयेत् । ८।

Caraka Su. V. 6-8.

Some other rules are laid down to facilitate digestion. A person should take only that food which suits his temperament. The medical works have, therefore, given a list of food preparations which suit the people of different parts of India.¹ The food taken should be warm, should have some fats, should be nourishing. It should be taken silently, slowly and attentively. The food articles taken should vary, the same dishes should not always be taken.² They have also mentioned preparations which should not be taken together. It is laid down that fish or other meat preparations should not be taken with milk.³ The order of dishes is also mentioned. A person should first take sweet dishes, then acidic, then saltish, then pungent and the rest afterwards. Fruits such as pomegranates should be taken in the beginning, then beverages, then food articles such as boiled rice and confectionery. Lotus stalks, roots and tubers should

पुराणशालयो मुद्गापशकसिप्तिरि ज्ञानुकाः।

एवं प्रकारं यन्त्रान्यत् तद् द्रव्यं जम्बु संस्कृतम्।

Bhela, p. 4.

तद्भुजान् पृथुकांश्चापि सर्वांश्च पिष्टमयांस्तिलान्।

न खादेद् भुक्तवान् जन्तुः मायां खादेद् बुभुक्षितः।

Bhela, p. 12.

¹ See F. D. A. I. p. 162, f. n. 4 and p. 162, f. n. 1—6.

Caraka. Su. VI. 49. Susruta. Su. 46. 463-467.

² See F. D. A. I. p. 157, f. n. 1.

न चैकं रसं तेषामां प्रसञ्जयेत् कदाचन।

शाकावरात्रं भूक्षिप्तमस्त्रं च न समाचरेत्।

Susruta. Su. 46. 491.

³ भस्मश्चिचिमिमीनाम कूले क्षरति वारिणः।

तं भस्मं वर्जयेदेकं दुग्धेनान्यास्तु भक्षयेत्।

एवानं वराहं धैकञ्च पयसा विवर्जयेत्

वन्यमूलफलाहारं तद्विधेन विरुध्यति।

कपोतान् सर्पान् श्रृष्टान् पयसा न तु भक्षयेत्

Bhela, p. 21.

C.E. Caraka. Su. 26 106-122.

विरुद्धं पयसा भस्मा यथा वा गुडमूलकम्।

स्वादजीर्णशानं नाम व्युष्टानीर्णं चतुर्विधे। ६१।

तथैवात्यशनं श्लेष्ममतिमात्रोपयोगतः।

स . . . तावन्मयोत्पत्तौ मूलहेतुं प्रचक्षते। ६२।

Kasyapa, Khila V. 61-62.

never be taken at the end of meals.¹

The food suitable for different stages is mentioned in the Dharma Sāstras as before. A student was not permitted to take only one foodgrain for he might get very fond of it nor was he to take meat, wine, vinegar or leavings of food.² The general rules for the householders were the same as in the previous period but the Jains avoided the use of wine, flesh and honey, green ginger, butter, curds and flowers because they contained many germs.³ An ascetic is permitted eight mouthfuls every day⁴ of such food stuffs as leaves, fruits, flowers, vegetables and boiled barley. He is also advised to fast for one day, two days or three days⁵ and drink water strained in a piece of

¹ पूर्वं मधुरमदनीयान् मध्येऽम्ललवणी रसौ।४६०।
पश्चाच्छेषान् रसान् वैद्योभोजनेष्ववधारयेत्।
आदौ फलानि भुञ्जीत दाडिमादीनि बुद्धिमान्।४६१।
ततः पेयांस्ततो भोज्यान् भक्ष्यांश्चित्रांस्ततः परम्।
घनं पूर्वं समदनीयात् केचिदाहुर्विपर्ययम्।४६२।
घादावन्ते च मध्ये च भोजनस्य तु शस्यते।
निरत्ययं दोषं हृदं फलेष्वामलकं नृणाम्।४६३।
मृचालवित्तं शालूककदेशु प्रभृतीनि च।
पूर्वं योग्यानि भिषजा न तु भुक्ते कदाचन।४६४।

Susruta, Su. 46 460-464.

C.f.

स्निग्धं च पूर्वं मधुरं च भोज्यं मध्ये द्रवं शीतमयोविचित्रम्
तीक्ष्णोष्ण रुक्षाणि लघूनि पश्चाद् भोज्यान् पूर्वोक्तेषु सात्म्यतश्च

Kasyapa, Bhojana Kalpa, 34.

आदौ तु स्निग्धमधुरं विचित्रं मध्यतस्तथा।
रुक्षद्रवावसानं च भुञ्जानो नावसीदति।

Kasyapa, Khila. 3.32-33.

² ब्रह्मचर्यं स्थितो नृकमन्नमद्यादनापदि
ब्राह्मणः काममदनीयाच्छुद्धे व्रतमपीदमन्।३२।
मधुमांसाञ्जनोच्छिष्टं श्वेतस्त्री प्राणिहिंसनम्।
भास्करालोक्तनास्तीलपरिवादश्च वर्जयेत्।३३।

Yaj. I. 32-33.

C.f. Visnu, Dh. Su. XXVIII. 9-11, 33.

³ मधुमांसं मधुत्वार्गः सहाशुद्रतपञ्चकम्
अष्टौ मूलगुणानाहुर्गृहिणां धमणोत्तमाः।६६।
वसहति परिहरणार्थं शीघ्रं भिक्षितं प्रमाद परिहृतये।
मद्यं च वर्जनीयं जिनचरणो शरणमुपयातः।८४।
अल्पं फलं बहु विधातान् मूलकमांदाणि शुङ्गवेराणि।
नवनीतं निम्बं कुशुमं कौतकमित्येवमन्येयम्

Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvakācāra III.

⁴ Visnu, Dh. Su. XCIV. 13.

⁵ Visnu, Dh. Su. XCV. 6-12.

cloth.¹ But, a Jain monk was to practise fasting by degrees. First he was to give up solid food, then milk and whey and in the end even spiced water.²

The general rules of etiquette were mostly the same as in the earlier period. A person should eat facing east or south. He should leave some solid food but eat up all the liquid substances such as curds, honey, clarified butter, milk, groats, meat or sweets. He must not eat in the open, nor with his wife, nor standing, nor in the presence of many hungry spectators. He should not eat in an empty house or in a temple. He should not drink water out of his joined hands.³ The practice of listening to sweet music and interesting stories while taking food, which is in accordance with the modern fashion, is also found in the *Kāśyapa Sāmhita*.⁴ The practice of chewing betel leaves after meals had, by then, become common.⁵ People generally took some beverage such as

¹ Visnu, Dh. Su. XCVI. 13.

² ब्राह्मणं परिहृत्य कम्पशः स्निग्धं विवर्धयेत् पानम्
स्निग्धं च हृषयित्वा खरपानं पूरयेत् कम्पशः।१२७।
खरपानं हृषयित्वा निष्ठुत्वा कृत्वा पानमपि शक्यम्।
पञ्चनवस्कारमनास्तन्त्वं त्यजेत् सर्वमन्त्रेन।१२८।

Ratnakarandha Śrāvakārca VI.

Bardesanes, a Babylonian writer of C. 200 A.D. gives the following account of the lunch of Indian monks :—

'Prayer over, the bell is again rung and the attendants give each monk a bowl of food for two never eat out of the same dish. The bowl contains rice, but if any one wants a variety of food, vegetables and fruits are added.'

³ Visnu, Dh. Su. LXVIII. 40-47, Yaj. I. 138.

⁴ वीणावेद्युस्त्रयोन्मिधं गीतं नाट्यविहन्वितम्।१२१।

विचित्राश्च कथाः शृण्वन् भुक्त्वा वर्धयते बलम्।१२१।

Kāśyapa Khila, V. 55-56.

⁵ ज्योती-कटुक-पूगानां लवङ्गस्य फलानि च।

कङ्कालफलं पत्रं ताम्बूलस्य शुभं तथा।

तथा कर्पूरं निर्दोषः सुधर्मलायाः फलानि च।

Caraka, Su. V. 75-76.

मद्यं पयस्तक्रमदधीनि वेदन्ति वारोहमयापि शस्त्रान्।

ताम्बूलं पूगोन्मधितामस्य ये स्युः कालोन्निता मस्य भवेज्जतुल्या।

Kāśyapa, Bhujana Kalpa. 39.

ताम्बूलपत्रं तीक्ष्णोष्णं कटुपित्तप्रकोपणम्।

सुगन्धिं विशदं तिक्तं स्वयं वातपित्तकफापहम्।

संस्तनं कटुकं पाके कषायं वृद्धिं दीपनम्।

वक्त्रकण्ठमूलकलेददोग्गन्धवादि विशोधनम्।

Susruta, Su. 46. 279-280.

cold or warm water, liquor, a decoction, watery soup, sour gruel or fruit juice. Anyone of these which suited a particular individual and aided his digestive system was used.¹

After drinking a beverage a long walk, a lengthy conversation, singing, sleeping and reading were avoided.² Some people used to smoke a cigar after their meals. The Caraka describes its preparation—a reed was smeared with pastes of sandalwood, nutmeg, cardamom and several other drugs and spices. Then it was dried and the reed removed.³ These practices are not met with in the earlier periods.

धूनेनाह्वय हृद्यैर्वा कषायकटुतिक्तैः
पूगकङ्कालकूर्परसवङ्गमुमनः फलीः।
फलैः कटु कषायैर्वा मुख वैशद्य कारकैः।
ताम्रबलपत्रसहितैः सुगन्धैर्वा विचक्षणैः।

Susruta. Su. 46. 485-486.

Also see Appendix III.

¹ शीतोष्णतोयासवमद्य यूप फलान्न धान्याम्ल पयोरसानाम्।
यस्वानुपानं तु हितं भवेद्धतस्मै प्रदेयं त्विह मात्रयात्तु।

Susruta. Su. 46. 420.

These after potions consisted of cool water, warm water, *Asava*, some intoxicating drinks, soups of cereals, fruit juices, sour gruel, milk, or meat soup. These were taken in accordance with a man's temperament and the food articles he had taken.

² भुक्त्वा राजवदासीत शयदन्नवसयोगतः।
ततः पादक्षतं गत्वा वामपाश्वेन संविशेत्।
शब्दान् रूपान् रसान् गन्धान् स्पर्शाश्च मनसः प्रियान्
भुक्त्वानुपसेवेत तेनान्नं साधु तिष्ठति।

Susruta. 46. 487-488.

शयनं चासनं वाऽपि नोच्छेद्वपि श्वोत्तरम्।
नाग्न्यातपो न प्लवनं न यानं नापि बाहनम्।

Susruta. 46 490.

³ हरेणुकां प्रियङ्गु च पृथ्वीकां केशरं नलम्।
ह्रौवेरं चन्दनं पत्रं त्वगेलोमीरं पद्मकम्।
ध्यामकं मधुकं गांसी गुग्गुभगुहृत्कर्करम्।
न्यग्रोधोदुम्बरास्वरयज्जलोघ्रत्वक्शुभाः।
वन्यं सर्जरसं मुस्तं शैलेयं कमलोत्पले।
श्रीवेष्टकं शल्लकीं शुक्रबर्हमषापिच।
पिष्ट्वा लिम्पेच्छरेणुकां तां बतिं यवसन्निभाम्।
अङ्गुष्ठं सभिन्ना कुयादिष्टाङ्गुलं समामिषक्
शुष्कं निगभी तां बतिं धूमनेत्रार्पितं नरः।
स्नेहाक्तामग्नि संप्लुष्टां पिबेत् प्रायोगिकीं सुखाम्।

Caraka. Su. V. 18-23.

Please also see Appendix IV and F. D. A. I. p. 197, f. n. 1, 3.

Taboos against the use of meat of unclean animals or unsanctified meat, onions, mushrooms, garlic, *tigru*, red exudation of trees, and other plants and vegetable growing on unclean ground are met with in the Dharmaśāstras of this period as in those of the earlier period.¹ In a Śrāddha even preparations of *Rājamāṣa*, *Masūra*, stale food and factitious salt were not to be served. Viṣṇu also prohibits the use of pepper, the onions called *mukundaśa*, *Bhāstṛna* (a pot herb), *tigru*, mustard seeds, *Nirguṇḍi*, the fruit or leaves of *Sāl* tree, *suvarcalā*, *kāṣmāṇḍa*, the bottle gourd, the egg plant, *pālakya*, *upodakī*, *Tanduliyaka*, safflower, *piṇḍāṅka* and the milk of buffaloes.² But the medical works prescribe the use of the flesh of all animals and vegetables including garlic when they regard it as useful for a patient. The Kāśyapa Saṁhitā has a separate section which deals with various uses of garlic and its juice is considered as effective as nectar itself.³ The use of some fragrant substances such as cloves, camphor, *kakola*, *jātiphala*, with betel leaves is prescribed to do away with its foul smell.⁴

¹ पलाण्डुं विद् वराहं च छायां रामकुङ्कुटम् ।
लघुनं नृजयं चैव जम्बा चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ।
भक्ष्याः पञ्चनखाः सैद्यारोधा कच्छा शलकाः ।
शशश्च मत्स्येष्वपि हि सिंहलुण्डकरोहिताः ।
तथा पाटील राजीव सशल्काश्च द्विजातिभिः ।
अतः शुण्ठ्यं मांसस्य विधिं भक्षणं वर्जितम् ।

वसेत् नरके घोरे दितानि पशुरोमनिः ।
समितानि दुरानारो यो हन्त्यविधिना पशून् ।

देवतार्थं हविः शिशु लोहितान् प्रयचनांस्तथा ।
अनुपाकृतमांसानि विह्वानि क्वकाति च ।

Yaj. I. 176-180.

² Viṣṇu. Dh. Sa. LXXIX. 17-18.
राजमाषमसुरपयुषितकृतलवणानि च ।

Yaj. I. 171.

³ अमृतोद्भूतममृतं लघुनानां रसायनम् ।
दन्तमांसनखमक्षौकेष्वर्णवयोविलम् ।
न जातु भ्रश्यते यातं नृणां लघुनलादिनाम् ।
न पतन्ति स्तनाः स्त्रीणां नित्यं लघुनसेवनात् ।
न रूपं भ्रश्यते चासां न प्रजा न वलायुषो
होभाग्यं वर्धते चासां दुर्द्धं भवति योवतम् ।

Viṣṇu. Dh. Sa. LXXIX. 18.

⁴ ततः कलायक्षुण्णं हस्तमृण्मिदकेन च ।
प्रशाल्य मूत्र मोक्षीच गुह्रावरणोऽस्मिन् ।
हाम्बूलपत्रं हस्त्राकं ? सजाती कटुकाफलम् ।
ध्वजपुष्पकर्पूरककोलकफलान्वितम् ।

Kāśyapa. Laṣunakalpa. 18-20.

Kāśyapa Laṣunakalpa. 32-33.

Feasts were given, as before, at the time of a *Srāddha* or other sacrifices. In a *Srāddha* the *Brāhmanas* were invited on the previous day.¹ The practice of offering meat preparations is considered better than milk preparations or vegetarian dishes, at a *Srāddha*.² Unhusked or well husked boiled rice, rice cooked with sesamum, preparation of meat and fish, intoxicating drinks, radish, cakes, rice with curds, milk rice, rice mixed with treacle and *modakas* were served at the time of worship of the god *Vināyaka*.³

We can also have some idea of the food habits of the people in various parts of India. People in the north-west liked such substances as butter milk, vinegar, curds, whey, treacle, grapes, groats, juice of pomegranates, rock salt, tender leaves of *Bhāstrīna*, the juice of *Triphrt*, *Vāsaka*, *Kāraynta*, *Kuṭbera* and *Mātu-linga* (citrus medica). Other food articles used by them were groats mixed with ginger, clarified butter, *Śāḍavas*, *rāga*, soups, and beverages including intoxicating drinks.⁴ Bhela says that

¹ निमन्त्रयेत् पूर्वेषु ब्राह्मणानात्मवान् शुचिः।
तैश्चापि संयतैर्भक्ष्यं मनो वाक् कान कर्मभिः।

Yaj. I. 225-226.

² हविष्वाम्नेन वैमासं पायसेन तु वत्सरम्
मात्स्व हारिण कौरभ खाकुलच्छाय पार्श्वतः।
ऐण रीरव वाराह शशैर्मत्स्यैश्च ऋमम्।
मासं बृद्धयाऽभितृप्यन्ति दत्तं रिहृ पितामहाः।
खज्जामिषं महाशक्तं मधुमुन्यम्नेव च।
शोहामिषं कालशक्तं मांसं बाध्नीतस्य च। २५६
यद्दासि गयास्थश्च सर्वमानन्त्यमश्नुते।

Yaj. I. 257-260.

Visnu. Dh. Su. LXXX.

The Visnu. Dh. Sa. provides that vessels in which the food is served in a *Srāddha* should be metallic, preferably made of silver.

Visnu. Dh. Sa. LXXIX. 14-15.

³ कृताकृतांस्तण्डुलांश्च पललोदनमेव च।
मत्स्यान् पत्रांस्तर्षबामान् मांसं मेतावदेव तु।
पुष्पं चित्रं सुगन्धं च सुरां च विविधामपि।
मूलकं पूरिकापूपांस्तर्षबोण्डेरकं खजम्।
दध्नप्रपायसं चैव गुठमिश्रं समोदकम्।

Yaj. I. 286-288.

तिस्रः पिष्टमिश्रभोदनः पललोदनः। भूष्टालोपिकाः पूरिकाः। कुद्रापूपास्तूण्डेरकाः।

Aparīka on Yaj. I. 286-288.

⁴ तर्कं शक्तं दधि मस्तुर्गुडं च द्राक्षाः मुरुषाः सुकृताः सक्तवस्त्रं।
शीतं हितं दाडिमं वारि चार्यं स्वास्तेनैव भूस्तृणपल्लवाश्च।

they were specially fond of meat preparations and liquors.¹ The residents of *Vābhika* country generally used spiced warm food, liquid meat preparation² and beverages such as sour gruel and wines, while those of *Kāmbhoja* were fond of preparations of *masūra*, barley, wheat, sesamum and *uddāla* variety of rice.³ The people of the *Sindhu* country were fond of milk.⁴ The people of the east liked fish, *Sāli* rice, oils, and pungent spices.⁵ The people in the south were fond of tasty sweets, oils, preparations of foodgrains such as *kaṅgu*, *ādhaka*, barley, gram and pea, and roots, tubers and some beverages.⁶ These people liked fish from the river and the sea.⁷ Sour rice gruel is recommended for sea faring men.⁸

तानि त्रिवृद् वासक कारवृन्ताद् रसः कुठेरादि सनातुलिङ्गात् ।
स्यादादकः सक्तवश्च सपिर्वरिष्ठं सपवः पादवापच ।
भक्ष्याश्च मूक्षालवचः सुपक्वाः सूपारागाः पानकं मद्ययोगाः ।
भतो गुणाद्युक्तिमवेक्ष्यकुर्यात् सात्त्वादनश्चारिमयो विविक्ताः ।

Kasyapa. Bhojana Kalpa. 46-4.

¹ प्रतीच्याः मांसवासाः सुराकामाः

Bhela. p. 22.

² वाहिका तीक्ष्णोष्णानि अन्नानि, अभिष्यन्दीनि मांसानि, पानकान्यौदकानि च ।

Bhela. p. 22.

Vābhika=Bactria

³ काम्भोजाः मसूरयवबोधूमसिलकोद्दालसेविनः ।

Bhela. p. 22.

Kāmbhoja=region to the east of Kafiristan.

⁴ Caraka. Cikitsa. 30, 317.

⁵ काशीगुष्टाङ्गकवज्जकाशान् ससागरानूपकं कौसलेयान् ।

पूर्वं समुद्रं च समाश्रित्याये किरातदेश्यान्पिपूर्वं सैलान् ।

शाकैः समत्स्यामिच शालि तैलं द्रव्यैश्च तीक्ष्णं समुपक्रमेत ।

Pundra—Between Monghyr and Varāṅga.

Kasyapa. Bhojanakalpa. 49-50

C.f. Caraka. Cikitsa 30, 317.

प्राच्याः मत्स्यान् भोजिनो नित्यम् ।

Bhela. p. 22.

⁶ कलिङ्गकान् पट्टनवासिनश्च सदशिणान् वापि च नर्मदेयान् ।

उच्चावचद्रव्यगुणाग्नित्वाभिः पेयाभिरेतान् समुपक्रमेत ।

तैसानि कङ्गवाडकी यावकाश्च मूक्षानि कन्दाश्चणवाः कसायाः ।

एतानि सात्त्वानि भवन्ति तेषां पेयास्तथोष्णाः परिसिद्धिकाश्च ।

Kasyapa. Bhojanakalpa 51-52.

Pattanavasina—Inhabitants of Masūlipattana and Viśākhāpattana.

Narmadeya—People of Narmadā valley.

⁷ नदीतोषगतान् मत्स्यान् भक्षयन्ति समुद्रजान् ।

Bhela. p. 22.

⁸ समुद्रमाश्रितानाञ्च जनानां सात्त्व्यमुच्यते ।

Susruta. Su. 45 216.

It appears that the rich always used meat preparations and intoxicating drinks as they are invariably prescribed with vegetarian dishes in the medical works for patients.¹ The Jains were so particular about Ahimsā that they even avoided all uncooked roots, fruits, leaves, branches, tubers, flowers and seeds in which there was the least possibility of the existence of any living being. For the same reason they did not take their meals at night.²

To conclude, we may say that during this period the food habits of Indians were considerably changed as a result of the influx of foreign elements in society. The authors of medical works made a scientific study of all the food articles then available. So many varieties of rice, fruits and vegetables are not mentioned in any earlier work. Suitable diet for different seasons and people residing in different parts of the country was prescribed. Many new preparations of rice and wheat flour came into use. Tasty soups were prepared not only with pulses but also with fruits and vegetables which were available in abundance. Rules about purity of food appear to have been tightened by the authors of the Smṛtis, but people in the north-western region probably attached little importance to them. They had no objection to taking tabooed articles such as onions and garlic, meat preparations and intoxicating drinks of all kinds were very popular with them. Some new practices such as listening to sweet music at the time of meals are met with in the higher stratum of society and betel chewing seems to have become a common practice throughout the country.

¹ कुक्कुटश्चमयूराश्च तित्तिरिक्रीष्णवर्तकाः।
वालवो मदिरा सपि वातगुल्मनिवृत्तिम्।
हितमृष्णं द्रवं स्निग्धं भोजनं वातगुल्मनाम्।
समशब्दादणीपानं पक्वं वाधान्यकैर्जलम्।

Caraka. Cikitsa. V.

² मूलफलशाकशाखाकरीरकन्दप्रभृन्जीजानि।
नामानि योत्ति सोऽयं रक्षितः विरतो दवा मूर्तिः।
अन्नं पानं साधं लेह्यं नाश्नाति यो विभावयाम्।
स च रात्रिभुक्ति विरतः सत्वेष्वनुकम्पमानमनाः।

Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvākācāra VII. 141-42.

CHAPTER VI FOOD AND DRINKS

(C. 300 A.D. To C. 750 A.D.)

The period C. 300 A.D. to C. 750 A.D. was an era of great prosperity in India. The earliest source of information is the *Aṅgavijjā* which gives a long list of vegetarian preparations in the beginning of the Gupta period. Some information about the food habits of the people can be gleaned from the works of Kālidāsa, the *Mṛcchakatika* and the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*. But the first connected account that we have of food during the period comes from Chinese travellers Fahien, Yuan Chwang and Itsing. The medical works of this period the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha*, the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* and the Bower Mss. repeat a good many details given in the medical works of the earlier period but provide some additional information. The *Purāṇas* and the *Smṛtis* also throw some light on the feasts and rules of diet and etiquette during this period.

Food has generally been classified into the four traditional categories¹ but the Chinese travellers divide it into five solid foods, roots, stalks, leaves, flowers and fruits, and five soft foods, boiled rice, *Kulmāṣa*, groats, meat and cakes.² A number of varieties of rice are mentioned³ but the *Kalama* variety of *Sālī*

¹ *Aṅgavijjā*. p. 178, *Vṛyu*. 74.31.

² Itsing. p. 43.

C.f. अथ तस्मिन्नेव दिवसे द्वितीयेऽर्धभागे विविधस्य खादनीय भोजनीयस्य वर्षं प्रवर्षति। इदमेवं रूपं भोजनम् श्रोतनसक्तवः कुलमाप मत्स्य मांसम्, इदमेवं रूपं खादनीयम् स्वन्य खादनीयम्, पत्र खादनीयम्, पुष्प खादनीयम्, फलखादनीयम्, तिल खादनीयम्, खण्डकंठरा गुड खादनीयम् पिष्ट खादनीयम्।

Div. 297. 10-14.

³ The *Ast. Sam.* VII. 3-12 mentions the following varieties of *Sālī rice*: Raktaśālī, mahāśālī, kalama, tūrṇaka, śakunāhṛta, sārāmukha, dīrghaśūka, rodhraśūka, sugandhaka, puṇḍra, puṇḍarika, pramoda, gauṛa, sārīvā, kāñcana, mahiṣaśūka, dūṣaka, kusumāṇḍaka, lāṁgala, lohavāla, kardama, śītabhīruka pataṅga and tapanīya.

Other varieties of rice described are :

Ṣaṣṭika, mahāvrihi, kṛṣṇavrihi, jātūmukha, kukkuṭaṇḍaka, lāvaḥa, pārāvataka, sūkara, varaka, uddālaka, ujjala, cīna, śārada, dardura, gandhana, kuruvṛnda, yavaka, hāyana, pāṁsu, vāpya and naiṣadhaka.

rice, which was grown in Bengal and was transplanted to attain full growth, was largely used.¹ *Śaṣṭika* rice was considered very nourishing,² and *Mahavrihi* variety, which was mostly grown in Magadha was offered to religious persons of distinction and to kings.³ The medical works regard the red variety of *Sāli* rice to be the best.⁴ Rice was taken with curds, milk, clarified butter, molasses or pulses such as *mudga*, *māṣa* and *Kulattha*.⁵ Milk rice was popular but some Brāhmaṇas like the *Vidūṣaka* in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* were fond of rice with curds.⁶ Besides the old preparations

शालः कलमाद्याश्च घण्टिकाद्याश्च पुंस्त्वमी।

Amar. II. 9.24.

C.f. Angv. p. 164, Ast. Hrd. VI.

¹ वज्रानुस्वाय तरसा नेता नोसाधनोद्धतान्।

निचखान जयस्तम्भान् गङ्गास्रोतान्तरेषुसः।

आपदपद्मप्रणताः कलमा इव ते रघुम्।

फलैः संवर्धयामासुरक्षतप्रतिरोपिताः।

Raghu. IV. 36-37.

C.F. Karpūramañjarī I. 19, Kizata. IV Mrch. IV. p. 232.

² माषसूपसहितेन सर्पिषा घण्टिकोदनमदन्ति ये नराः।

क्षीरमच्यनुपिबन्ति तामु ते शर्वरीषु मदनेन शेरैः।

Brhat. 76.8.

घण्टिको व्रीहिषु श्रेष्ठो गौरश्चासितगौरतः।

Ast. Sam. VII. 10.

गुडोदनं पायसं च हविष्यं क्षीरं घण्टिकम्

दध्मोदनं हविष्यचूर्णं मांसं चित्रान्नमेव च।

Yaj. I. 303-304.

From Śībara's commentary on Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra*. I. 3.1 it appears that parched *śaṣṭika* rice was eaten with milk and parched *sāli* rice was eaten with milk. Rice cooked with *mudga* pulse is also recommended.

³ Beal Si-yu-ki. II. 82.

⁴ शूकजेषु वरस्तत्र रक्तस्तुष्णान्निदोषहा।

महास्तस्यान् कलमस्तं चाप्यन् ततः परे।

Ast. Sam. VII. 7.

⁵ पायसो परमण्णति दधितावो विलेपिको

दधिकूर दुदकूर घतसासवकूरको।१३६।

गुलकूरको तिवा वृषा प्रधवा पतकूरको।

कुलवकूरको घति मुग्गमासोदणोतिवा।१३७।

अतिकूर तेल्लकूरति भूतकूरतिवावदे।

जस्स धणस्स जो मिस्सा तण्णामो कूर एवसो।१३८।

Angv. p. 64.

सदध्ना कलमोदनेन प्रलोभिता न भक्षयन्ति वायसा बलि सुभारतस्य सर्वजंतया।

Mrch. Act IV, p. 181. Calcutta 1938

C.f. Raghu. IX. 42, IV. 37, Kumar. V. 47. Mātsya. 268. 6-30.

⁶ दधिभक्त पूरितोदरो ब्राह्मण इव।

Mrch. IV, p. 241.

of rice a new one was *utkārīkā*. A variety of this cake prepared with rice flour and milk and clarified butter of a goat with some medicines was considered aphrodisiac.¹ Itsing prescribes boiled rice and well boiled lentil water for a convalescent person.² Rice was the staple food of the people in the south.³ The foresters used some inferior varieties of rice such as *kaṅgu*, *nivāra*, *kodrava* and *śyāmāka*.⁴ People also seem to be fond of eating sweet parched rice.⁵

Two varieties of barley, one superior and the other inferior⁶ and two those of wheat called *Nandimukhi* and *Madhūlikā* were used. Itsing noted that wheat was abundant in the western

¹ *Saṅkṣit*—Matsya. 268. 6-30.

Prthuka—Vayu. 80.47, *Asmar*. II. 9.47.

Kṛtara—Matsya. 268. 6-30.

तिलाश्चगन्धा कपिकच्छ भूसैविदारिकापटिकपिष्ट योगः।

आनेत पिष्टः पयसा धूतेन पक्वं भवेच्छकुलिकातिवृद्ध्या।

Bṛhat. Sam. 76.9.

C.f. Div. 500.23.

Cooked rice from which water was not strained was called *Caru* (*Sabara on Jaim. X.* 1.42).

² Itsing. P. 135.

³ A history of South India p. 191, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri.

⁴ नीवारोदनमण्डमुष्णमधुरं सद्यः प्रसूताः प्रिया।

Uttaracarita. IV.1.

प्रियङ्गवः कोद्रवाश्च निष्पावाश्चाति शोभनाः।

Mārkaṇḍeya. Pu. 29.10.

मुपायश्च कोद्रवा जत सली कहुं सो पावए तस्य माली।

सिरीखण्ड कप्पूर एसाहं दिन्ना मुहातिदि पोष्कता जेणदिन्ना।

Bhavi. 20.3.

कङ्गु कोद्रव नीवार श्यामकादि हिमं लघु।

तृणधान्यं पवनकृत्लेखनं कफपित्तहृत्।

Ast. Hr. VI. 11-12.

The following inferior grains are mentioned in *Ast. Sam. Su. VII.* 14-16:

Kaṅgu, kodrava, jūrṇāhva, garmūti, cūṣṇapādikā, śyāmāka, toyaśyāmāka śibira, śisira, dārunivāra, barukūbaraka, utkaṣa, madhūlikā, śāntanu, saṇḍi, vepuṣaṇḍi, praśāntikā, gavedhukā, aṇḍalaṣhitya, todapaṇḍi and mukundaka.

⁵ लाजान् मधुयुतान् दद्यात् सक्तून् शकरसासह।

Kurma. XX.

C.f. Matsya. 268. 6-30.

लाजान् विषेण संयोज्य मधुनेति त्रिलोभिता।

देवीतु काशीराजेन्द्रनिजधान रहोगतम्।

Kamandaka. VII. 52.

⁶ *Aṇḍayava* (inferior variety of barley) *Ast. Sam. Su. VII.* 19.

Vepuṣayava (Bamboo seeds) were also used as an article of food. *Ast. Sam. Su. VII.* 21.

parts of India,¹ but it is still mentioned among the inferior cereals by the authors of the medical works.² All the old preparations of barley and wheat were in use but *yavāṅgu* seems to be very popular.³ Some new preparations such as *vitānaka*, *polikā*, *iṣṭaka*, and *locikā* are mentioned.⁴ As before groats were taken

¹ *Nandimukhī* (thin and long variety of wheat)—Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 22.

Madhūlikā variety of wheat was considered more wholesome. Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 14-16, Itsing. p. 45.

But the Vayu Purana (Ch. VIII. 153-54) mentions rice, barley, *māṣa*, wheat, *apṣu*, *sesamum*, *Priyaṅgu*, and *Kulattha* among the cultivated grains and *Syāmāka*, *nīvāra*, *jattila*, *gavedbuka*, *kuruṣṇa*, *vaṇṇyava* and *markiṣaka* among the uncultivated grains. *Udāra*, *koradūṣa*, *cinaka*, *mudga*, *maśūra*, *niṣpāva*, *āḍbaki*, gram and *ṣaṇa* were not regarded as sacred grains.

C.f.

व्रीहयश्च यवाश्चैव गोधूमा अणवस्तिलाः।
प्रियङ्गुवोत्तुदाराश्च कोरद्वृषाः सचीनकाः।२१।
माषा मुद्गा मसूराश्च निष्पावाः सकुलत्पकाः।
आदक्यश्चककाश्चैव शण संप्तदशाः।२२।
इत्येता ओषधीनां तु ग्राम्याणां जातयो मुने।
ओषध्वोषजियाश्चैव ग्राम्यारण्याचर्तुदश।२३।
व्रीहयः सपवा माषा गोधूमा अणवस्तिलाः।
प्रियङ्गु सप्तमाद्येता अष्टमास्तु कुलत्पकाः।२४।
स्यामाकास्तथ नीवारार्जतिताः सगवधुकाः।
तथा वेनु यवाः प्रोक्तास्तद्वन् मर्कटका मुने।२५।
ग्राम्यारण्यास्मृताद्येता ओषध्वश्चर्तुदश।

Viṣṇu. Pu. I. 6, 21-26.

² See F.D.A.I. p. 170 f. n. 4.

³ The Angv. (p. 181) mentions *yavāṅgu* mixed with clarified butter, oil or vinegar.

C.f. अन्ध रसक यूषमल यवागूं भ्रष्टमांसोपदंशानि पानकानि चूतफलानि शुष्क-
मांस मातुलुङ्गचक्राणिसशर्कराणि च ययादेशसात्म्यं च चपकहस्तः पाययेत्।

Kāma. 174. 15-17.

Dhānāp—Kurma. II. 17, Amara. II. 9.47.

Saktu—The groats of jujube were also used. Ast. Sam. VII.

Karambha—Amara. II. 9.49, Vayu. 80.47.

Saṅgyāva—Kurma. II. 17.

Apūpa—Kurma. II. 17, Amar. II. 9.47.

For other preparations of wheat see F.D.A.I. p. 179.

⁴ *Vitānaka*—Matsya. 268. 6-30.

Polikā—Ibid.

Purikā—Ibid.

Iṣṭaka—Vayu. 80.47.

भक्षयान्वक्ष्ये करम्भञ्च इष्टका घृतपूष्का।

कृदारं मधु सपिष्टं पयः पायसमेव च।

Vayu. 80.47.

Locikā—a kind of delicious sweet preparation.

Svastika—Ast. Sam. Su. VIII. 94. See F.D.A.I. p. 137, f. n. 3.

in the liquid form as also when they were prepared in a thick consistency.¹ People often took groats with them when proceeding on a journey.² *Jūrṇāhva* (*Holcus Sorghum*) is also mentioned among the inferior foodgrains of this period.³ The use of pulses with clarified butter is recommended.⁴ Of all the pulses, *mudga*, especially the green variety, was considered the best.⁵ Daily use of *māṣa* is not considered good on medical grounds as it is difficult to digest.⁶ *Kulāttha* was widely used.⁷ Gram was also used for horses.⁸ The use of *Rājamāṣa*, *maśūra*, *niṣpāva* and gram is interdicted in a *Śrāddha* by the authors of the *Purāṇas*.⁹ *Mudga* was also used in preparing a stuffing (*vesavāra*) called *Pūraṇa*.¹⁰

¹ निचपात्कठिना गुर्वी प्रोक्ता पिण्डी मृदुर्लघुः।

भक्तानां द्रवता योगाल्लघीयस्यबलेहिता।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 61.

² Harṣacarita, p. 217.

³ See F.D.A.I. p. 170. f. n. 4. It is called *jūmanāla* in *Tiloya paṇṇati*. See History of Jondhāla' by Dr. P.K. Gode in B.C. Law Commemoration Volume I. p. 145-158.

⁴ अधुराः शीतला गुर्वी बलभयो रक्षणारिभक्ताः।

स्नेहाद्या बलभिन्नौज्या विविधासिम्बिज्जातयः।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 33-34.

⁵ सूप्यानामुत्तमा मुद्गा लघीयांसोज्य माहताः।

हरितास्तेष्वपि वराः।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 26.

⁶ भावनिष्पाव शाकूक बिस् पिष्ट विरुद्धकम्।

शुष्कशकानि यवकान् फणितं च न शीलयेत्।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 41.

⁷ कूलत्थतिल माषाम्ल घृत तैलमिषोदनं।

बहिर्हितिर दशाणां रसैः सम्योषदादिभिः।

सहिगुविडमूढीकामानुलुङ्गरसाद्रकैः।

कुलत्थदाडिमाजानी शुष्कमूलक संयुतैः।

यत्र गोधूम शाल्यन्नं स्निग्धमुष्णं च भोजयेत्।

Bower. Mss. 2.14.

⁸ Amarasinha calls gram—the food of the horses (*harimanthaka*, II. 9-11). Rice cooked with gram is mentioned—*Matsya*. 268. 6-30.

⁹ द्वेष्याणि संप्रवक्ष्यामि श्राद्धे वर्ज्यानि यानि तु।

मसूरशणनिष्पावराजमायकुसुम्भिकाः।

कोद्वोदारचणकाः कपित्था मधुकालसीः।

Matsya. 15.36-38.

C.F. Mārkandeya. Pu. 29.11.

¹⁰ वेसवारो गृहः स्निग्धो बलोपचयवर्धनः।

मुद्गादिजास्तुगुरवो यदाद्रव्य गुणानुगाः।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

Pulses were used in saline preparations such as *yūṣas*, *maṇḍa* and *parpaṣas*.¹ Sprouted food grains were also used in food preparations.²

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk continued to be the favourite beverage in India.³ Even in the South the Brāhmaṇas used to domesticate milk yielding cows.⁴ Milk is recommended as a suitable diet for the convalescent, the old, children and ascetics.⁵ Both Yuan Chwang and Itsing noted that milk and its products were available everywhere.⁶ Milk of cows was considered the best.⁷ Other animals, whose milk was used, were buffaloes, goats, elephants, sheep, mares, camels and women.⁸ Overboiled milk was considered difficult to digest while fresh milk, which was still warm, was considered as wholesome as nectar itself.⁹ Milk rice continued

¹ *Yūṣa* (soup of pulses)—Kāma Sūtra. 174. 15-17, Bharata. III. 36-39, Angv. p. 179, Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

Maṇḍa—juice of cereals was considered a light food.

नीवारोदनमण्डमुष्ण मधुरं सद्यः प्रसूताप्रिया ।

Uttaracarita. IV. 1.

C.f. Amara. II. 9.49.

Parpaṣa—Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

² Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

³ Beal Si-yu-ki p. 88, Angv. p. 181, Raghu. II. 63, Kurma. 22, Vayu. 78.17, Visnu. III. 16.11.

⁴ A History of South India, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 190.

⁵ व्याध्वीयधध्वभाष्यस्त्रीलङ्घनातपकर्मभिः ।

क्षीणे बृद्धे च बाले च पयः पथ्यं यथा मृतम् ।

Ast. Hrd. VIII. 50.

C.f. Vayu. 16.13.

⁶ Beal Vol. I, p. 88, Watters Vol. I. p. 178. Itsing. p. 44.

⁷ गव्यं स्नेहोत्तमं क्षीरं गव्याच्च पयसः पयः ।

यद्योत्तरं स्नेहहीनमोरञ्जच्छागमाहिबम् ।

Khāraṇāda.

प्रायः पयोऽत्र गव्यं तु जीवनीयं रसायनम् ।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 54.

⁸ गव्यं माहिबमानं च कारमं स्नैगमाविकम् ।

ऐभमं कशफं चेति क्षीरमष्टविधं स्मृतम् ।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 52-53.

C.f. Vayu. 78.17.

⁹ भवेद्गरीयोत्तिष्ठतं धारोष्णममृतोपमम् ।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 62.

C.f. Ast. Hrd. Su. V. 29.

to be popular¹ and beatings were avoided as before.² Curds were taken pure, with rice, with groats and with treacle.³ Curds when mixed with water in the ratio of 3 : 1 were called *Takra*, when they were mixed in equal quantities the mixture was called *Udatvit* and curds churned without water were called *Matbita*.⁴ *Sikbaripi* continued to be popular as before.⁵ A mixture of warm milk and curds, cream of curds and butter milk were also used.⁶

Fresh butter, butter prepared from the previous day's milk and clarified butter were widely used.⁷ Yuan Chwang states that milk and butter formed important food articles of the students at the University of Nālandā.⁸ Some people were excessively fond of butter. Urvaśi is said to have lived on butter alone.⁹

¹ Amar. II. 7.24.

² Ast. Sam. Su. VI, Amar. II. 9.54.

³ *Dadbi* (curds)—Angv. p. 181, Kurma. 22, Matsya. 217, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

Dadbisaktu (curds with groats)—Angv. 220.

Dadbyodana (rice mixed with curds)—Mrch. VII.

Gudadadbi (curds with treacle)—Angv. p. 220.

⁴ *Takra*—Matsya. 217, Vayu. 16.13, Amar. II. 9.53, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

Udatvit—Amar. II. 9.53, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

Matbita—Amar. II. 9.53.

Traptyam—Angv. p. 220, Amar. II. 9.51.

⁵ *Rasāla*—Angv. p. 220, Amar. II. 9.44, Vikramorvaśiya. p. 72 (III. 86).

⁶ तप्तेपयसि दध्मानपति सा वैश्वदेवी ग्रामिक्षा वाजिम्यो वाजिनम् ।

Sabara on II. 2.23.

ग्रामिक्षा राजतोल्ले या क्षीरे स्यादधियोगतः ।

Amar. II. 7.23.

Dadbilara (cream of curds)

दधिघर परिलुब्धत्वाः माज्जरिकायाः ।

March. Act I. p. 47 Calcutta, 1938.

Dapdibata (butter milk)—Amar. II. 9. 53.

⁷ *Navanila* (fresh butter) Malavikagnimitra. p. 57, Angv. p. 182, Amar. II. 9.51, Matsya 217, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

Haiyāṅgavina (Butter of yesterday's milk)—Raghu. I. 4.5, Amar. II. 9.51.

Ghrta—Angv. p. 182, Kurma. 22, Amar. II. 9. 51, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

⁸ Beal. Si-yu-ki. Vol. I. p. 88.

⁹ घृतमात्रं तयाहारः ।

Vayu. 91.11.

Clarified butter was considered a germicide¹ and a mixture of clarified butter and curds was also used as food.² Besides the milk products mentioned in the earlier period Vāgbhata I mentions *Kṣīraśāka*, *Dadhikūrcikā* and *Takrapīṇḍaka*.³

MEAT DIET

Side by side with vegetarian diet meat diet was also in vogue. A slaughter house and a butcher boy are mentioned.⁴ A piece of meat being roasted on charcoal seems to be a common sight.⁵ At irregular hours a meal consisting of meat roasted on spits seems to be common among the Kṣatriyas.⁶ Meat and fish formed part of the daily diet of the royal families.⁷ Flesh of various animals was served to Brāhmaṇas at Srāddhas.⁸ The

¹ अन्नादिजानां सत्वानां रसजानां च सर्वशः
फल दुष्पौद्गतानां च घृतप्राप्तो विशोधनम्।

Matsya. 227.39.

² पृथ्वाग्न्यं सदध्याज्ये।

Amara. Vaisya.

Originally 'prṇḍajya' denoted a mixture of curds and minute globules of butter. See Ch. II. p. 14, f. n. 5.

³ The solid part of curds when water has oozed out was called *Takra-pīṇḍaka*—Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 78-79, Ast. Hrd. Su. V.

Kṣīraśāka—Ibid.

Dadhikūrcikā—Ibid

⁴ भवानपि सूनोपरि चरविहङ्गम इव ग्रामिणलोलपो।

Malavika. II. p. 36.

प्रथमपरः हतपशूदरपेशि भावति रूपिदारकः।

Mrch. IV. p. 237.

⁵ अङ्गारराशिपतितमिव मांसलच्छम्।

Mrch. p. 98.

⁶ अनियतवेलेन शूल्यमांसं भूयिष्ठमाहारोभुज्यते।

Sakuntala. II.

⁷ मांसेन तिक्ताम्लेन भक्तं शाकेन सूपेन समस्त्यकेन।

भुक्तं मयात्मनोऽंगे शालिकूरेण गुडोदनेन।

Mrch. X. 29, p. 345.

अच्छरसक दूधमम्लयवागुभ्रष्टमांसोपदंशानि पानवानि भूतफलानि शुक्रमांसं
..... पायवेत्।

Kamasutra. 174.15-17.

शीरशाल्यन्नमुक्ष्यात् क्षीराग्न्या जांगलानां रसैर्वा हृद्यैर्युषैः।

Bower Mss. I. 24.

क्रीडरुक्मणशारच्छागशावकप्रकटितपशुबन्धप्रबन्धानि।

Harsa. p. 45.

महानसोपकरणवाहिभिश्च नद्वराहवाधौर्णसैलैर्बमानहरिणचटुकचटकजूट जटिलैः
शिशुशशकशाकपत्रवैशाग्रसंघ्राहिभिः।

Harsa. VII. 211.

⁸ Yau. 82, Matsya. 16, 17.29-36, Kurma. 20.

Kūrma Purāṇa goes to the extent of saying that one who does not take flesh in a Śrāddha is born again and again as an animal.¹ Bṛhaspati lays down that only those women whose husbands are away should refrain from meat diet. It expressly permits meat eating in the case of sick persons.² In South India also meat dishes were popular in royal courts.³

Flesh of five toed animals, fish with scales, deer, peacocks, partridges, *kapiñjala*, *vārdrinasa*, *dvīpī*, fish called *rājive*, *siṃha-tuṇḍa*, *pāṭhina* and *robīta*, goats, hares, gazelle and birds was eaten.⁴ People generally avoided the meat of oxen, asses, elephants, horses, pigs, dogs, foxes, lions, monkeys, frogs, bears and apes. Those who ate the flesh of prohibited animals were looked down upon in society.⁵ In the middle country (*Madhyadeśa*) the peafowl was considered a delicacy,⁶ and artisans were beef eaters.⁷

Some uncivilized people relished meat diet. It is said that the strong smell of flesh made the people residing in the Vindhya region joyous.⁸ A Śabara youngman presented a partridge to Harṣa probably because they prized its flesh very much as an article of food.⁹

¹ योनास्नान्ति द्विजो मांसम् नियुक्तः पितृकर्मणि।
सत्रेण पशुतां याति संभवानेकविंशतिन्।

Kurma. 22.

² Bṛhaspatismṛti. 25. 13. P. 194.

³ Porunar. II. 84-93, 102-121.

⁴ भक्ष्याः पञ्चनखा नित्यं ममुराह प्रजापतिः।
मत्स्यान् सखलान् भुञ्जीयान्मांसं रौरवेव च।
निषेधदेवताभ्यस्तु ब्राह्मणेभ्यस्तु नान्यथा।
मयूरस्तित्तिरञ्चैव कपिञ्जलकमेव च।
वाध्रीणसन्दीपितञ्चैव भक्ष्यानाह प्रजापतिः।
राजीवान् सिंहतुण्डाश्च तथा पाठीनरोहिता।

Kurma. 22.

⁵ Beal Si-yu-ki. p. 89.

⁶ See Buddhaghosa's Sāratthappakāsaṇi, his commentary on Saṃyutta Nikāya.

⁷ मध्यदेशे कर्मकराः शिल्पिनश्च गवाशिनः।१२८।

मत्स्यादाश्च नराः पूर्वं व्यभिचाररताः स्त्रियः।

उत्तरे मद्यपा नायः स्पृश्या नृणां रजस्वलाः।१२९।

Bṛhaspati. Sm. I. 128-29.

⁸ उम्हाल कुसुल मुहुञ्चरन्त रय करसमेयगन्धाई।

आसार जडे दिवहेगदन्ति कुटुम्बि गेहाई।

Gaudavaho. 377.

⁹ Harṣacarita, p. 232.

Meat cooked with rice, meat soup prepared with ghee or oil and some spices, meat roasted on spits or charcoal, seasoned meat, were all used.¹ Boneless meat ground after boiling and mixed with spices was used as a stuffing.² A soup prepared with some meat and spices such as dry ginger was called *Dakalāvaṇika*.³ An acidic gruel cooked with meat and an extract of meat were also used as food articles.⁴

But there seems to have been a good deal of feeling among some sections of society against the slaughter of animals. Fahien states that killing of animals was unknown throughout Madhyadeśa. There were no butchers' shops in the markets. Only the Caṇḍālas sold flesh outside the city.⁵ It may have been that Fahien saw everything with Buddhist glasses. But the author of *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (prior to 443 A.D.) states that the Buddha himself declared all kinds of meat uneatable for many reasons.⁶ That the Buddhists of the period were against meat diet can be seen also from the example of Harṣa who prohibited

¹ *Piṣitandana* or *māṃsāndana* (meat cooked with rice)—Matsya. 268, 6-30 C.f.

शालीनामोदनं भुक्त्वा शुचिमांसोपसेवितम् ।

भुञ्जानो शुल्ककुलमायान् कञ्चिन्न परित्यजे ।

Div. 559.1.

Māṃsarasa (meat soup)—Mrch. VIII. 14, X. 29, Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 39-46 Amar. II. 9. 45.

Sūlyamāṃsa (roasted on spits)—Śakuntala II., Amar. II. 9.45.

Angārārāṣi patita māṃsa khaṇḍam—Mrch. p. 98

Ballūra or *śuṣka māṃsa* (Seasoned meat)—Ang. 64, Kāmasūtra. 174.15.

² *Veravāra* (stuffing)—Ast. Hrd. Cikitsa I.

निरस्त्रिषि पशितं मांसं त्विन्नगुडघृतान्वितम् कृष्णा मरिच संयुक्तं वेसवारं तुदुष्यते ।

³ *Dakalāvaṇika* (a kind of meat soup)—

स्वलेन मासेन स्वलेश्च शुद्ध्यादिभिः क्रियन्ते स्वच्छाः ते रसादयः दकलावणिकाः ।

⁴ *Amlayavāgu* (acidic gruel)—Kama Sutra. 174.15.

Accarasaka yūṣam (extract of meat)—Ibid.

⁵ Legge. p. 43.

⁶ The reasons given are :

1. The animal whose flesh is eaten may have been one's intimate relation.
2. Butchers sometimes bring flesh of unclean animals like dogs.
3. A non-vegetarian sees horrible dreams.
4. Flesh is produced from the semen of a male and the blood of a female hence it is impure.
5. Meat eating causes obstruction in the acquisition of learning.
6. A meat eater is deprived of learning.
7. Meat eating is the characteristic of an *Anārya* (uncultured person).
8. The Buddhist teachings are looked down upon if Śramaṇas take meat diet. See A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XX. parts III and IV.

taking of life under severe penalties and caused the use of flesh as food to cease throughout the five Indies.¹

A considerable section of Hindu society at that time did not look on meat diet with approval. Even the *Kāmasūtra*, which does not represent the views of religious authorities, states that to desist from eating meat was considered an act of merit.² Bhavabhūti pokes fun at the ancient custom of serving beef to a distinguished guest,³ and a copperplate inscription dated 465 A.D. clearly shows that the slayer of a cow was considered guilty of a heinous crime.⁴ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* in the same strain declares that slaughter of animals is not proper for sacrifices and one should perform sacrifices with cereals.⁵ Itsing also states that even laymen rarely have the taste of grease or flesh.⁶

HONEY AND SWEETS

The four varieties of honey mentioned in the medical works of the earlier period continued to be used in the reception of guests and other festive rites.⁷ But all the products of sugarcane were widely used as sweetening ingredients in the food preparations.⁸ Of these *Sarkarā* was considered the best and

¹ Watters. Yuan Chwang Part. I. p. 344.

² प्रवृत्तेभ्यश्च मांसमक्षणादिभ्यः शास्त्रादेव निवारणं धर्मः।

Kamasutra, p. 12.7.

³ येनागतेषु वसिष्ठमिधेषु वत्सतरी विपसिता।

Uttara Carita. IV. 87.

⁴ तदेतत् प्रवृत्तम् य उच्छिन्नात् सगोब्रह्महत्याया संयुक्तोभवेत्।

C.I.I. III. p. 71.

⁵ भ्रागमेन मनान् यज्ञं करोतु यदिहेच्छसि।

विधिदृष्टेन यज्ञेन धर्ममव्ययहेतुना।

यज्ञबीजं मुरध्रेष्ट येद् हिसान विद्यते।

Vāyu. Pu. 37. 100.

C.f. *Matsya*. Pu. 143. 12-14.

⁶ Itsing. p. 44.

⁷ The four varieties of honey were:—

Bbrāmara, *pantika*, *kṣaudra* and *mākṣika*—See Ch. V. p. 145, f. n. 6.

भ्रामरं पौत्तिकं क्षौद्रं माक्षिकं च ययोत्तरम्।

वरं जीर्णं च तेष्वन्ये द्वे एव ह्युपयोजयेत्।

Ast. Sam. VI. 98.

Kumar. VI. 50, VII. 72, *Raghu.* XI 69, *Viṣṇu.* III. 11.82, *Vāyu.* 79.

11-12, 103.34, *Kurma.* 22.

⁸ Vāgbhāta I mentions five varieties of sugarcane:—

Paṇḍraka, *vāṁṣika*, *śataparyaka*, *kāntūra* and *naipāla* and considers the juice extracted with the help of a machine unwholesome. *Ast. Sam.* Su. VI. 83-85.

C.f. *Ast. Hrd.* V. 44.

phāṇita the worst.¹ *Bāṇa* mentions two varieties of sugar, red and white.² Sugar was also prepared with a grass called *yavāsa*.³ Besides the old sweet⁴ preparations such as *madbulājā*, *kṛsara*, *modakas*, *utkārīkā*, *saṁyāva*, *pūpa*, *pbenaka*, *pāyasa*, *abhyūṣa* and *gudaudana*,⁵ some new preparations are mentioned. *Moreṇḍaka* was a kind of sweet prepared from inspissated milk. The solid part of it was formed into the shape of the eggs of a peacock, fried in clarified butter and coated with sugar.⁶ *Vimarḍaka* was a preparation of groats and clarified butter.⁷ Other sweets mentioned are—*locikā*, *iṣṭaka*, *vitānaka*, and *polikā*. But as neither Sanskrit

Phāṇita—Angv. p. 182, Amar. II. 9.43, Ast. Sam. VI. 86.

Guda—Angv. p. 181, Vayu. 105.34, Ast. Sam. VI. 86.

Matyāṇḍikā—Angv. p. 181, Amar. II. 9.43, Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 88, Malavika II. p. 42, Ast. Hrd. V. 49.

Khaṇḍa—Ast. Sam. VI. 88, Vayu. 105.34.

Sarkarā—Angv. p. 181, Kurma. 25, Amar. II. 9.43, Harsa. p. 156.

Sitā (sugarcandy)—Amar. II. 9.43, Ast. Hrd. V. 49.

¹ शर्करेण विकाराणां फणितं च वरावरे।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 98.

² *Pāṭala Sarkarā*—(red sugar).

Karka Sarkarā—White sugar—Hatsacarita p. 156.

³ Ast. Hrd. V. 50.

⁴ *Gudavikāra* denotes all sweets prepared with *guda* (Rtusambhāra V. 16) and *Khaṇḍakḥādyaka*, those with unrefined sugar.

जलानुपानं वा खण्डखाद्यकमन्यद्वा प्रकृतिसात्म्यं युक्तमुभाबन्धुपदञ्जीयाताम्।
Kamasutra, IV. 10.16.

⁵ *Madbulājā*—Kāmandaka VII. 52.

C.f. Kurma. 20.

Kṛsara—Matsya. 268. 6.30.

Modakas (sweet balls)—were generally prepared with rice or wheat flour mixed with sugar, some spices and slices of the kernel of cocoanuts.—Vikram. III. 65, 75. Angv. Mrch. V. 98, Malavika, p. 81, Sakuntala, p. 62, Matsya. 268. 6-30. Also see F.D.A.I. Ch. VI. p. 171.

Samyāva—Kurma II. 17.

Pūpa or *apūpa*—Mrch. V. 98, Amar. II. 47-48, Vayu. 80.48, Matsya. 268. 6-30, Kurma. II. 17.

Pbenaka—Angv. 182. Fine sweet cakes prepared with powdered wheat flour.

Pāyasa—Matsya. 268. 6-30, Raghu. X. 51, 54.

Ghytapūra—Vayu. 80.47.

Abhyūṣa—Amar. II. 9.47.

Gudaudana—Mrch. I. 8, Matsya. 268.6-30.

Utkārīkā was a sweet preparation with rice flour, milk, treacle and clarified butter.

Angv. 182, Bharata. III. 36-39, Div. 500-23.

⁶ *Moreṇḍaka*—Angv. p. 182.

⁷ घृतं सक्तुकाश्वितम् द्रव्यम् विमर्दकम्

Ast. Hrd. Uttara. 39.

dictionaries nor books on food and drinks enlighten us about the way they were prepared it is difficult to say much about them.¹

SALTS, SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

All the varieties of salts mentioned by Caraka were in use.² As before saline preparations were considered exciting hence ascetics and newly married couples were advised to avoid them.³ There does not seem to have been any great change in this respect. The common spices used for seasoning were dry ginger, cumin, mustard, coriander, myrobalan, long pepper, black pepper, cloves, cardamom, turmeric and asafoetida.⁴ Black pepper is

¹ *Locikā*—Bharata. III. 36-39.

Iṣṭaka

भक्ष्यान् नश्ये करम्भञ्च इष्टका घृतपूरकाः।

Vayu. 80.47.

Vitāṅka—Matsya. 268. 6-30.

Polikā—Matsya. 268. 6-30.

² *Kāmasūtra*. I. 4.38, IV. 1.18, *Brhat Sam.* 76.11, *Kurma*. 22, *Vayu*. 74 Matsya 217.60, *Raghu*. V. 73, *Angv.* p. 182, *Ast. Hrd. Su.* 12.

तयालवणस्तेह्योश्च गन्धकटुकभाण्डौषधानां च दुर्लभानां भवनेषु प्रच्छन्नं निधानम्।

Kamasutra. IV. 1.28.

यस्मादप्ररसाः सर्वे नोत्कटा लवणविना।

प्रियं च शिवयोनित्वं तस्माच्छान्तिं प्रयच्छ मे।

Matsya. 84.7.

The *Matsya* (217.60) mentions following varieties of salts: *Saindhava*, *udūbid*, *pāṭhya*, *pākyā*, *sāmsudra*, *lomaka*, *kuppa*, *sauvarcala*, *viḍa*, *vālakeya*, *yavābhaka*, *aurvakpāra*, *kālabhasma*.

³ संगतबोस्त्रिरानमयः शय्या ब्रह्मचर्यं क्षारलवणवर्जमहारस्तथा सप्ताहं सतृपमङ्गल-
स्नानं प्रसाधनम्।

Kama Sutra. 191.1.

अभोज्यानि यतीनाञ्च प्रयश्चलवणानि च।

Vayu. 18.20.

⁴ हिङ्गज्ज्वला जीरकभद्रमुस्ता वचाया ग्रन्थिः सगुडा च शुष्ठीः।

एषा मया सेविता गन्धयुक्ति कथं नाहं मधुस्वर इति।

Mrch. VIII. 13.

जीरको अरणोऽजाजी कणा कृष्णं तु जीरके, सुषवीकारवी पृथ्वी पृथुः कालोपकुञ्जिका।

Amar. II. 9. 36-37.

परिपूतेषु च हरितशाकं वप्रानिधुस्तम्बाञ्जीरकं सर्पपाजमोदं शतपुष्पा तमालं गुल्मांश्च कारयेत्।

Kamasutra. IV. 1.6.

साजमोदलवणाहरीतकीं शृङ्गवेरं सहिता च पिप्पली।

मयतत्रतलोष्णवारिभिवचूर्णं पानमुदरान्निदीपनम्।

Bhatsamhita. 76.11.

C.f. *Matsya*. II. 9.36-38, *Kurma*. 20, *Vayu*. 74, *Raghu*. IV. 46, VI. 57, *Kumara*. VIII. 25.

called Dharmapattana in the Amarakośa, which shows that it was grown near Dharmapattana on the sea coast.¹ Asafoetida is called Bāhlika which shows that it was imported from Afghanistan.² The skin of *mātulinga* was used with betel leaves for perfuming the mouth.³

Many sauces and condiments were prepared and used. The most common were *kāmbalika*, *khaḍa*, *temana* and sour gruel. Two varieties of sour gruel, one in which husked cereals were used and the other in which unhusked cereals were used, are mentioned.⁴ Sour gruel seems to be a favourite article of food in *Kāñci*, *Avanti* and *Sauvira*.⁵ Jams and syrups prepared from fruits were also used as condiments with food.⁶ Vinegar was prepared as before, from *guḍa*, sugarcane juice, cereals, and grapes. Bulbs, roots, and fruits were preserved in it.⁷ A new preparation from oil cake, which was acidic in taste, was called *Srikukeṇḍa*. It was in common use in Mālava country.⁸ The *Harṣacarita* mentions a preparation of fragrant mango fruit. Camphor, cloves and some sweet smelling flowers such as *campaka* were also used in preparing it.⁹

¹ Amar. II. 9.36.

² Amar. II. 9.40.

³ मातुलुङ्गत्वचस्तम्बूलानि च स्मृः।

Kamasutra. I. 4.8.

⁴ विविधं लवणं फलं हरितं शाकं तिक्तं कटुकमम्लोपदंशान् वेद्याः पादयेयुः।

Kamasutra. I. 4.38.

Kāmbalika—Angv. p. 221. Also see F.D.A.I. p. 147, f. n. 7.

Khaḍa—Angv. p. 221. Also see F.D.A.I. p. 147, f. n. 6.

Temana—Amar. II. 9.44.

Vyañjana—(condiments) Kurma. 22.

Kāñjika—(sour gruel) Div. 496.5, Dharmavartā VI. 294. See F.D.A.I. p. 146, f. n. 7.

Taṣṭodaka—sour gruel prepared with unhusked cereals.

Sauviraka—Sour gruel prepared with husked cereals.

⁵ आरुणालकं सौवीरं कुलमाषामिधृतानि च।

अवन्तिसोमं धान्याग्नं कुञ्जलानि च काञ्जिके।

Amar. II. 9.39.

Datākumāracarita. VI.

Sauvira—Lower Sind.

⁶ *Khaṇḍava* (jams)—Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

Rāga (syrups prepared from fruits) Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

⁷ Ast. Hrd. Su. V.

⁸ तिलतर्पपिप्प्याकजो भालवदेवो प्रसिद्धो अम्लखडकविशेषः

Ast. Hrd. Cikitsa 12.

⁹ Harṣacarita, p. 66.

OILS AND OILSEEDS

All the oilseeds mentioned in the earlier period were used for extracting oil.¹ But besides clarified butter, sesamum oil and mustard oil were in general use as frying mediums.² Oil was used in preparing boiled rice and gruel.³ The oil extracted from sesamum was considered the best and that from safflower the worst.⁴ Vāgbhaṭa II recommends the use of oil chiefly in the winter season.⁵ Oil cake was used as food by hermits but its use is forbidden in a Śrāddha.⁶ Many condiments were also prepared from it.⁷ Of the animal fats, fat of a goat is considered the best and that of an elephant the worst. Other animals, whose fat was used in food, were a fish called *anlukei*, a pig, a cock, and *Pākabamśa*.⁸

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

Fruits, as before, formed a very important part of our diet.⁹ Yuan Chwang writes that in the region near Kashmir pears, plums, peaches, apricots and grapes were planted.¹⁰ Pomegranates and melons were grown everywhere.¹¹ He states that peaches and pears were introduced by the Chinese into India hence peaches

¹ Angv. p. 232, Div. 70.27, Mārkaṇḍeya. Pu. 29.9-11, Amar. II. 9.7-20, Sakuntala p. 94, Vayu. 5.9.

भोजनावशिष्टाद् गोरसात् सारग्रहणं तयातलं गुडयोः कुट्टनावेक्षणं प्राचाम मण्डं तुप कुट्टयज्जातानामुपभोजनम्।

Kamasutra. IV. 1.33.

² *Tilataila* (sesamum oil)—Beal Si-yu-ki. I. 88, Ast. Sam. Su. IX. It was included in untimely (*vikāla*) food. Watters VIII. p. 282.

Sarṣapataila (mustard oil)—Itsing p. 44, Ast. Sam. Su. IX., Si-yu-ki. p. 88.

³ *Tailakūṭa* (boiled rice with oil)—Angv. p. 64.

Tailayasāgā (gruel with oil)—Angv. p. 181.

⁴ तिल तलं वरं तेषु कौसुम्भमवरं परम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 111.

⁵ नवमस्रं वसं तलम्।

Ast. Hr̥. III. 13.

⁶ Vayu. 16.14., Kuzma. 2.17.

⁷ *Tilapīnyākavikṛti*—Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

⁸ श्रीलुकी शीरी पाकहंजा कुक्कुटोद्भवबावसा ध्रेष्ठा स्ववर्गेषु, कुम्भीर महिषोद्भवा काक मद्गुवसातद्वत् कारण्डोत्पा च निन्दिता। शास्त्राद मेदसां छागं हास्तितनं च वरावरे।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 113-114.

⁹ Angv. p. 64 and p. 231, Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 168-209, Watters. p. 277. Beal Si-yu-ki. II. 88., Itsing p. 45, Amar. II. 4.27-168. Vayu. 45-46.

¹⁰ Watters Vol. II, 277.

¹¹ Watters Vol. II, p. 277.

were called Chināni and pears were called China-rājaputra.¹

He himself used to receive one hundred and twenty *Jambīras* (citrus medica) every day.² Bread fruit and cocoanut were cultivated in Assam (*Kāmarūpa*).³ In the Ajanta paintings we can see mango, custard apple, a round fruit which looks like a *Bilva* fruit or a lemon and another fruit which looks like a brinjal.⁴ Of all the fruits, grapes were considered the best⁵ and *Lakuca* the worst.⁶

From the Vāyu Purāṇa we learn that the people of Hari-vamśa liked the juice of sugarcane, the people of Hiraṇvatavaṛṣa the juice of *Lakuca*, those of Ramaṇakavaṛṣa the juice of the fruit of *Nyagrodha*, those of Ilavṛtavaṛṣa of the juice of *jambū* fruit, those of Gandhamadana island the juice of bread fruit and the Siddhas the juice of *Parūṣaka*. Although we are not in a position to identify all these regions, yet it shows the popularity of fruit juices in the country.⁷

All the vegetables, which were spoiled by frost, fire, bad breeze, carnivorous animals, eaten by insects or growing under water or not growing in a proper season, very old or dry, were avoided, but dry radish and unripe *Bilva* fruit were used.⁸ From the Kāmasūtra it appears that besides radish, *kūṣmāṇḍa* (pumpkin

¹ Watters Vol. I. pp. 292-293.

² Beal—Life of Yuan Chwang.

³ Beal—Si-yu-ki. II. 195.

⁴ Griffith—Ajanta Paintings Cave I plates 102-112.

⁵ Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 168.

⁶ फलानामवरं तत्र त्रिकुचं सर्वदोषकृत्

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 168.

⁷ Juice of sugarcane—Vayu. 46.9.

Juice of *Lakuca* fruit—Vayu. 46-9.

Juice of *Nyagrodha* fruit— Ibid.

Juice of *Jambū* fruit—Vayu. 46.12-29.

Juice of Bread fruit—Vayu. 43. 4-5.

Juice of *Parūṣaka*—Vayu. 38.65.

⁸ हिमानलोष्ण दुर्वीत व्याल लालादि दूषितम्।

जन्तुशुष्टं जले दग्धम् भूमिजमनार्तवम्।

अन्य धान्ययुतंहीनवीर्यजीर्णतदाति च।

धान्यं त्यजेत्तथा शाकं रुक्षं सिद्धमकोमलम्

असञ्जातरसंतद्वच्छुष्कं चान्यत्रमूलकात्

प्रायेण फलमप्येवं तथाऽयं बिल्ववर्जितम्।

Ast. Hrd. Su. VI. 140-43.

gourd), *āluka* (an esculent root), *pālariki* (a pot herb), *damanaka*, the hogplum (*āmṛātaka*), *ervāruka* (a kind of cucumber), *trapusa* (cucumber), bottle gourd and brinjal were in common use.¹ Some other vegetables such as *sāraṇa*, *sigru* and *granthiparṇa* were also eaten.² But according to medical works *Paṭola*, *Kāśmāṇḍa*, *sunīṣappaka*, *jīvanti*, unripe radish and *vāstuka* were considered good vegetables³ and leaves and stalks of mustard the worst.⁴

Yuan Chwang states that lotus fibres were used as food by the ascetics.⁵ People generally avoided the use of onions and garlic.⁶ According to Itsing the Hindus believed that onions of any kind caused pain, spoilt eyesight and caused the body to become more and more weak.⁷ But the Bower Mss. prescribe the use of garlic as medicine in the treatment of many diseases. The author prescribes a method by which it could be administered to those Brāhmaṇas who avoided it. He says that a cow should be kept without grass for three nights. She should then be given stalks of garlic with some grass to eat and her milk, curds, clarified butter and buttermilk should be given to such Brāhmaṇas.⁸ He also describes how a soup of garlic should be prepared, with some flour, meat, ground *mudga* pulse, some green and dry spices and *Soṅcala* salt. The mixture should be well fried in clarified butter before preparing the soup.⁹

¹ मूलकालुक पलङ्की दमनकाभ्रातकवातक त्रपुस वार्तकि कुष्माण्डालावु सूरण मुकनासा स्वयं गुप्ता तिलपणिकान्तिमन्थ लशुन पलाण्डु प्रभृतीनां सर्वेष्वधीनां च बीजग्रहणं काले वापयन् ।

Kāmasūtra, IV. 1.29.

² जसूक वचावज्जक सुरस सूरण शिष्ट ग्रन्थिपर्णगवेधुका गर्मुद् गुल्म गृह वाटिकः ।

Harṣacarita, p. 229.

³ शीलयेच्छालिगोधूम यवचष्टिक जाङ्गलम् ।

मुनियण्णक जीवन्ती बालमूलक वास्तुकम् ।

पथ्यामलक मृद्रीका पटोलाः मुद्ग शर्कराः ।

बल्लीफलानां प्रवरं कूष्माण्डं वातपित्तजित् ।

Ast. Hrd. VIII. 42-43.

⁴ शाकानामवरं विष्मूत्रसर्वदोषकृत् ।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 134.

⁵ Watters—Yuan Chwang, II. 117.

⁶ Watters—Yuan Chwang, p. 178, Beal Si-yu-ki II. 88.

⁷ Itsing, p. 45 and p. 137.

⁸ Bower Mss. I. 34.

⁹ कन्दाञ्छह्माभानपहतमलान् सक्नुकुल्मासचूर्णः

सपिस्तंलाम्बां समितविकृतैः सूपमांसप्रकारैः ।

मोद्गंश्चूर्णैर्हरितकयुतैर्गन्ध सौवर्चलाभ्यै—

रद्यात्संस्कारैर्बहुभिरपरैः साधितावेतराणि ।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 151.

Bower. Mss. I. 31.

INTOXICATING DRINKS

From the *Aṅgavijjā* it appears that many varieties of intoxicating drinks were in use.¹ Kālidāsa's works have similarly many references to drinking.² It was believed that intoxication gave a special charm to women; ladies of royal families, therefore, enjoyed drinking.³ Police officers, soldiers, drummers and their friends are represented as enjoying themselves by drinking in the liquorshops.⁴ The statement of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* that in Kali-yuga even women would drink has probably a reference to contemporary habits i.e. to the fourth century A.D. when it was finally redacted.⁵ The *Matsya Purāṇa* describes Kṛṣṇa drinking with sixteen thousand ladies and does not regard him as a sinner. Ajantā paintings also depict scenes of drinking such as wines being brought in large jars.⁶ Yuan Chwang states that the

¹ The *Angv.* (p. 64, p. 181, 221) mentions the following varieties of intoxicating drinks :—

Apakvarasa, pakvarasa, āsava, ariṣṭa, maireyaka, madhu, godhaśāḍaka, yava, prasanna, ayasa, svelasurā, āsavāśava, niṣṭhita, madhura, jagala, aṭṭhakālikā, surā, phusunkundī, jayakālikā.

² *Śakuntalā* VI. p. 188, *Rtusamhāra*. I. 3, IV. 11, VI. 10, *Raghu*. IV. 42, 61, XIII. 52.

³ In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* Irāvati indulges in drinking. Indumati, the queen of Aja liked to receive wine from the mouth of her husband (*Raghu*. VIII. 68). The Mandsore inscription (Fleet C.I.I. III. 18. p. 81) mentions a phrase, 'like the cheeks of intoxicated women.' The after effects of drinking on women are described in the *Kumārasambhava*. The *Harṣacarita* (p. 82) also mentions beautiful ladies who had drunk wine. Kumāśila mentions that in Abhicchatra and Mathurā even Brāhmaṇa women indulged in drinking.

प्रथमं लोकवाद एव अथ सत्यं संवृत्तः।

Malavika. III. 49.

स्त्रलपन् पदे पदे।

Kumar. IV. 12.

चूर्णमान नयनम्

Kumar. VIII. 80.

⁴ लब्धं मधुमदं प्रबण्डं चर्मकारपुटोल्लालितं कोणं पटुं विषट्ठं रजन् मञ्जुलपटहम्।
Harṣacarita. IV. p. 142.

दीयते गणिका कामुकानां सक्तपूर्वं ताम्बूलम् पीयते चानवरतं सरीत्कारं मदिरा दमाः
चेटाः आसक्तकरकापीतमदिरैर्गणिकाजनैर्षे मुक्तास्ते पिबन्ति।

Mrch. VI.

C.f. *Śakuntalā*. VI. p. 182.

⁵ *Vāyu* 58.43.

The *Bṛhaspati Smṛti* also lays down that drinking should be avoided only by those women whose husbands are away.

अथ मांसान्नियोगं च न कुर्यात् प्रोषितेभ्यो।

Bṛhaspati. Sm. 25.13. p. 194.

⁶ Fahien states that drinking was unknown throughout Madhyadeśa but

Kṣatriyas used intoxicating drinks prepared from the juice of grapes and sugarcane while the Vaiśyas used strong fermented drinks. The Sramaṇas and the Brahmanas drank only syrups prepared with the juice of grapes and sugarcane.¹ Cultivation of *soma* plant is referred to in the Harṣacarita. It is, therefore, probable that Brāhmaṇas may have used *soma* juice as a beverage.² From Perumpanattarupadai we learn that in the south people other than Brāhmaṇas were addicted to drinking.³ Rich liquors imported from the west were served at the royal table and the poor enjoyed country wine.⁴

Intoxicating drinks were generally prepared from grapes, sugarcane, honey and rice.⁵ Wines flavoured with mango juice and *Pāṭala* flowers were also used.⁶ The Vāyu Purāṇa mentions an intoxicating liquor called *Kafya*.⁷ Wines were also prepared from such fruits as *rājādana* and *madanaphala* and *madhūka* flowers.⁸ All the varieties of liquors mentioned in the earlier period were used in this period and the medical works prescribe their moderate use, as in the earlier works.⁹

the literary evidence before us makes it highly improbable.

आपानगोष्ठीयु तद्या तावां स नरपुङ्गवः।

शुभाव विविधं गीतं तन्त्रीस्वरविमिश्रितम्।

Matsya. 120.31.

Griffith—Ajanta Paintings.

¹ Watters—Yuan Chwang. I. p. 17.8.

Beal Si-yu-ki, p. 89.

² सेकमुकुमार सोमके दारिका हरितायमाण प्रवणानि

Harṣacarita. II. p. 44.

³ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—A History of South India, p. 194.

⁴ Porunar. II. 84-93, 102-121.

⁵ द्राक्षैर्मुमैर्क्षिणं शालिहस्तमात्रीहि पञ्चमा।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

⁶ Raghu. XIX. 46.

⁷ कश्यपं मद्यं स्मृतं विप्रैः।

Vayu. 65.116.

⁸ Harṣacarita. p. 230.

⁹ Sura—Amar. II. 10.39, Kamasutra. IV. 1.35.

Vāruṇ—Kumar. IV. 12.

Śiddh—Amar. II. 10.42, Raghu. XVI. 52, Malavika. IV. p. 48, Mrch.

VII. 30.

Surāsava—सीधु सुरासवपत्ता।

Mrch. VII. 30.

Maireya—सप्त मधु मेरेयसुरासवान्

Kamasutra. I. 4.38.

C.f. Ibid. IV. 1.35.

DRINKING WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Bad smelling and foamy water and that taken from small ponds was not used for drinking purposes.¹ Good drinking water is said to have eight virtues which are, however, not mentioned.² The water from rivers, tanks, springs and wells was, as before generally used for drinking.³ It was stored in jars hung in windows, receiving cool gusts of breeze which kept it cool by evaporation.⁴ In the *Harṣacarita* we find a special officer in charge of drinking water.⁵ In the medical works water is called the very essence of life.⁶ Rain water is regarded as the best for drinking, especially, in the rainy season while impure water, if necessary, was used only after straining in a piece of cloth.⁷

Prasannā—Amar. II. 10.40.

Kādambari—Amar. II. 10.40.

Mādhavi—Amar. II. 10.41, *Kamasutra*. I. 4.38.

Nārikelaśava (an āśava prepared from the juice of cocoanut.) Raghu.

IV. 65.

Madirā—Mrch. VI., *Rtusamhāra* VI. 10. For details see F. D. A. I. Chapter V. pp. 151-53, Ast. Sam. Su. VI and Ast. Hrd. V.

दीपनं रोचनं मद्यं तीक्ष्णोष्णं तुष्टिपुष्टिदम्
सखादु तिक्त कटुकमम्लपाकरसम् सरम्
स कषायं स्वराशयं प्रतिभाषणकुल्लम्
तुष्टनिद्रातिनिद्रेभ्यो हितं पितासहूयणम्
कुशस्थूल हितं रुक्ष क्षौतो विशोधनम्।
वातश्लेष्म हरं युक्त्यापीतं विषवदन्यथा।

Ast. Hrd. Su. V. 62-65.

¹ दुर्गन्धं फेनितं चैव तथा वै पल्लवोदकम्
न लभेद्यत्र गोस्तुतिं नक्तं यन्चैव गृह्यते।

Vayu. 78.16.

² श्रष्टाङ्गोपेतस्य पानीयस्यापूरयतेति।

Div. 127.19.

³ कोप सारस ताडाग चोष्ण्य प्रासवणोद्भिदम्।
वापी नदीतोयमिति पुनः स्मृतमष्टधा।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 12.

C.f. Angv. p. 232.

⁴ भवत्वन्मिता गवाक्षेषु वातं गृह्णन्ति सत्तिलं गन्धैः।

Mrch. IV.

⁵ *Toyakarmāntika*—*Harṣacarita* Chapter V.

⁶ पानीयं प्राणिनां प्राणा विस्वमेव च तन्मयम्
क्षौतोऽप्यन्तर्निधेयं न वचिद् वारि वार्यते।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 30.

⁷ दिव्यं वारि वरं वर्षे।

Ast. Sam. VI. 52.

Milk and its other products such as butter-milk were generally used as beverages. Sometimes earthen pots containing butter milk were cooled by keeping them underground in ice which was brought from the Himālayas.¹ Many syrups were prepared with the juices of fruits such as mango, dates, grapes, *lakuca*, rose apple, *nyagrodha*, bread fruit and *parūṣaka*. Juice of sugar-cane, and *gūḍa* mixed with water were also used as beverages.² Drinks were also prepared with some spices such as dry ginger, *asana* and *jalada*.³ Itsing states that it was a common practice in India to offer one of the eight syrups prescribed by the Buddha to distinguished visitors, teachers, pupils, disciples, strangers and friends.⁴ Syrups are frequently mentioned in other works of the period.⁵ Some drinks prepared with plantain, cocoanut, and *patola* leaves were used in the summer season. Camphor was mixed in these beverages to make them fragrant.⁶

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The art of cooking was considered so important that it is regarded as one of the sixty four fine arts.⁷ The story of Gominī

धात धीत शिला पृष्ठ वस्त्रादिभ्यः स्तुतंजलम् ।
हेममृण्मयपात्रस्यमविषत्तं सदा पिबेत् ।
शृंगवेराम्बुसाराम्बु मध्वम्बु जलदाम्बु च ।

Ast. Hrd. III. 23.

¹ तुषार परिकरक शिशिरी त्रिममाणोदस्त्रिविति ।

Harṣacarita. V.

² See F.D.A.I. p. 183, f. n. 7.

³ Ast. Hrd. III. 23. See F.D.A.I. 187, f. n. 7.

⁴ Itsing p. 125.

⁵ उष्णमध्नं द्विजातिभ्यो दातव्यं श्रेय इच्छता ।

अन्यत्र फल मूलेभ्यो पानकेभ्यस्तद्वैवच ।

Kurma.

जलानुपानं सख्यलाघवमन्यद्वा प्रकृतिसारम्ययुक्तमुभावप्सुपयुञ्जीयाताम् ।

Kamasutra. II. 10.15-17.

C.f. Angv. p. 181.

* पिबेद् रसं नाति धनं रसाला रागपादवो । ३०
पानकं पञ्चसारं वा नव मृदभाजने स्थितम् ।
मोच चोष दलेर्षुक्तं सान्ध्यं मृण्मय शक्तिभिः । ३१
पाटला वासितं शाम्भः सकर्पूरं मुशीतलम् ।
मधुसर्जूरं मृद्रीका परुषकं सिताम्भसा । ३२
मन्द्योवा पञ्च सारेण सधृतैर्वाजिसक्तुभिः ।
द्राक्षा मधूक सर्जूर काश्मर्यै सपरुषकः । ३३
तुल्यांशः कल्पितं पूतं धीतं कर्पूर वासितम्

Ast. Hrd. Su. III. 30-34.

⁷ Kamasutra.

in the *Daśakumāracarita* shows that proficiency in cooking was considered an essential qualification of brides.¹ Kitchens were generally located in well lighted, clean, quiet and secluded places where strangers might have no access.² Cooks expert in cooking pulses, rice, cakes, and sweets are mentioned.³ There is also mention of a special officer in charge of the kitchen in the Allahabad inscription.⁴

The various processes in cooking such as mixing various substances, frying in oils or clarified butter, and fumigation are mentioned in the *Amarakośa*.⁵ The description of *Vasanta-senā's* kitchen is interesting.⁶ Even in a hermitage like that of *Vālmiki* such fine preparations as rice boiled with some fruits and vegetables were available. Their fragrance pervaded the whole atmosphere.⁷ The *Aṣṭ. Sam.* mentions cakes cooked in a fire made of chaff, a pot sherd, a frying pan, an oven, and on charcoals.⁸

¹ *Daśakumāracarita*. VI.

² महान्तं च सुगुप्तं स्वादुशनीयं च ।

Kama Sutra. IV. 1.18.

C.f. *Ast. Sam. Su.* VIII. 60.61, *Amar.* II. 9.27.

³ मूपकारास्तु बल्लवाः ।

माराजिका आन्धसिकाः मूदाप्रोदनिका गुणाः ।

मापूपिकः कान्दविका भक्ष्यकार इमेतिषु ।

Amar. II. 9. 27-28.

सद्व्यञ्जन कर्तारस्तत्पका व्यवकास्तथा ।

प्रसाधका भोजकाश्च गायसंवाहकास्तथा ।

Kamandaka. VII. 13.

⁴ *Kṣāyapākika* (a superintendent of the kitchen.) (Allahabad inscription of *Samudragupta*). The chief cook is called *Panrogaya*, (*Harṣacarita*, *Amar.* II. 9.27.)

⁵ *Bhṛṣita*—fumigated.

Picchila (sauce mixed with rice or gruel).

Āpakva (fried in butter).

Amar. II. 9. 46-47.

⁶ अयं दक्षिण जननीलोत्पादन कर आहारस्तुपचितो हिङ्गु तैल गन्धः विविधं सुरभि धूमो-
द्गारं नित्यं संताप्यमानं निःश्वसतीव महानसंदारमुल्लैः ।

अयमपरः हलपशूदरपेश धावतिरूपिवारकः । बहुविध्याहारं मूपं तापयति मूपकारः ।
वध्यन्ते मोदकाः पच्यन्ते पूषकाः ।

Mrch. IV. p. 237.

⁷ गन्धेन स्फुरता मनागनुसृतो नक्तस्य सपिष्मत्तः ।

कर्कशं फलमिधमाकपचनामोदः परिस्तीर्यते ।

Uttaracarita. IV. 1.

⁸ कुकूल संपरं भ्राष्ट्रं कण्डूज्जारविपाषितान्

एकघोनी लघून्विद्यादपूपानुत्तरोत्तरम् ।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 66.

As before the rich generally used utensils made of gold or silver, the people of the middle classes—vessels made of other metals and the poor leaves sewn together and earthenware.¹ All the utensils mentioned in the earlier period were in common use.² From the account of Yuan Chwang we learn that people used saucepans and stewpans but they did not know the use of a steamer. People did not use spoons or chop sticks.³ Drinking cups were made of conchshell and were engraved with designs.⁴ Oil was stored in leather bags.⁵ Spitons for spitting the juice of betel leaves had come into use.⁶

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

As in the early periods a householder is expected to offer food to gods, guests, Brāhmanas, spirits and dependants before he himself takes his meals. It is stated that many gods come to the householder in the form of a guest so a man should always be anxious to accord hospitality to a guest and he who takes his meals without feeding a guest is a sinner.⁷ To provide food

¹ भुक्त्यान्नतपले पात्रे सोवर्णे राजतेऽववावा
भुञ्जानोभुज्यते पात्रे कण्विन्न परितप्यसे।

Div. 559.

सोवर्णं राजतं ताम्रं पितृणां पात्रमुच्यते।

Vayu. 47.1.

Itsing states that fresh leaves sewn together were used as plates and bronze vessels were also used (pp. 46-47).

² The Harṣacarita VII mentions a water jar (*kalasa*), *karkarī*, *kumbha*, (*alinjara*), a box for betel leaves (*tāmbūla karaka*), a utensil for cooking (*tāmra-sarapa*), an iron pan (*kaṭāba*), a drinking cup (*pānabhājana*), a ring well (*gaṇḍa kusūla*), a pan (*tāpaka*) or (*tāpikā*) and a spit (*bastaka*).

C.f. Amar. II. 9. 30-34.

³ Beal. Si-yu-ki. I. 89.

⁴ Harṣacarita. pp. 156, 207.

⁵ Amar. *Kuṭu* or *kuṭupa*. II. 9.33.

⁶ *Bhauṃśatapadgraha*—Kamasutra. IV. 1.18.

⁷ See Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 37 F.D.A.I. p. 191, f. n. 2.

घाता प्रजापतिः शक्रो बलिबंसु गणोर्यमा।

प्रविश्यातिथिमेते वै भुञ्जतेऽन्नं नरेस्त्वर।६६।

तस्मादतिथिपूजायां यतेत सततं नरः।

त केवलमघं भुङ्क्ते यो भुङ्क्ते त्वतिथिं विना।६७।

Visnu. Pu. III. 11. 66-67.

ततः सुवासिनी दुःखि गर्भिणी वृद्ध बालकान्

भोजयेत् संस्तुताग्नेन प्रयमं चरमं गृही।

Visnu. III. 11. 68.

and drinks to the blind, the sick, the lame, the poor, and the orphans is considered a sacred duty,¹ and it is laid down that one should never cook food only for himself.

The Purāṇas repeat the rules about the purity of food. They prohibit the use of unclean food and that offered by unclean or dishonest persons for it is stated that one who eats food offered by a sinner himself becomes a sinner.²

The duty of taking meals on a clean piece of ground after washing hands, feet and mouth is equally emphasised.³ Even a

यत्किञ्चित् पच्यते गेहे भक्ष्यं वा भोज्यमेव च
अनिवेद्य न भोक्तव्यं तस्मिन्नायतने सदा।

Vayu. Pu. 74. 31.

यन्नावशिष्टमद्याद्वा न क्रुद्धी नान्यमानसः।
आत्मार्यं भोजनं यस्य रत्नर्यं यस्य मयुनम्।
वृत्यर्यं यस्य चाधीतं निष्कलं तस्य जीवितम्।

Kurma. Pu. 19.

Bharata in his Nāṭyaśāstra (III. 36-39) also gives food offerings suitable for Brāhmaṇas, gods, manes, sages, Rākṣasas, and birds.

अन्नपानविधानेन भुञ्जीतान्नं विनात्ययात्।
अभिनन्द्य प्रसन्नात्मा हृत्वा दत्त्वा च शक्तितः।
पाकं सज्जमेकान्ते ययासुसमिति ब्रुवन्
प्रयच्छेत् सर्वमुद्दिश्य पाचयेनान्नमात्मने।

Ast. Sam. III. 76-77.

¹ अन्ध व्यापित हीनाङ्गदीनानाथ वनीपकाः।
तेष्वन्नपानम् साम्येन सनेरन्न विषट्ठिताः।

Ratnāvalī. IV. 20.

² Kurma. Pu. II. Ch. XVII., Matsya. Ch. 16.

यो यस्यान्नं समस्नाति स तस्यास्नाति किंलिपम्।

Kurma. Pu. II. Ch. 17.

काले सात्म्यं शशि हितं स्निग्धोष्णं लघुतन्मना।३५।

बहुसं मधुरप्रायं नातिद्रुतविसम्बितम्।

स्नातः क्षुद्रान् विविक्तस्थो घोटपादकराननः।३६।

तर्पयित्वा पितृन् देवानतिथीन् बासकान् गुरुन्।

प्रत्यवेक्ष्य तिरस्चोऽपि प्रतिपन्ने पत्निहान्।३७।

समीक्ष्य सम्मयात्मानमग्निरद्वयवन् ब्रवन्।

इष्टमिष्टं सहादनीयाच्छुचिभक्तजनाहृतम्।३८।

भोजनं तृणकेशादिजुष्टमुष्णीकृतं पुनः।

शाकावराजं भूयिष्ठमत्युष्णं लवणं त्वजेत्।३९।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 35-39.

³ Ast. Sam. Su. X. 16., Itsing. Chapter III. p. 26.

पञ्चादौ भोजनं कुर्याद् भूमौ पात्रं निधाय च।

उपवासने तत्तुल्यं मनुष्यं प्रजापतिः।

उपनिष्ये शुचौदेशे पादौ प्रक्षाल्य वं करो।

प्राणाम्यादनिनोऽशोषः पञ्चादौ भोजनञ्चरेत्।

Kurma. Pu. XIX.

work on medicine like the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* lays down that one should avoid food offered by persons about to die, those maintaining themselves with difficulty, the henpecked, eunuchs, the degraded, hunters, evil doers, associations, enemies, prostitutes, rogues, and a usurer, as also food given in charity to all.¹ The *Matsya Purāṇa* includes atheists, people living in non-Aryan regions, such as Dravida, Konkana and a worshipper of Siva (*liṅgin*) in the above list.² Leavings of food were not used by respectable persons.³ But Kumārila states that some Brāhmaṇas used to take food of which their friends or relatives had already partaken. He also mentions that the Brāhmaṇas in the north used to eat from the same plate with their wives, children and friends.⁴ But all these rules could be waived in times of scarcity. From the *Kādambari* we learn that in times of need the people of the high castes could use food and water offered by a Caṇḍāla.⁵ Food was taken in a happy mood without reviling it and the practice of washing hands and mouth after meals was observed. Those who did not observe it were looked down upon in society.⁶

There were generally three meals. According to Sabara Devadatta's morning meal consisted of cakes, midday meal of

¹ नान्नमद्यान्मूर्खाणां मृतानां दुःखजीविनाम् ।
स्त्रीजित क्लीब पतित क्रूर दुष्कृतकारिणाम् । ७८ ।
गणारि गणिका सन्नधूर्तानां पाणिकं च न ।
नोत्सङ्गे भक्षयेद् भक्ष्यान् जलं नाञ्जलिना पिबेत् । ७९ ।

Ast. Sam. III. 78-79.

² Matsya. Pu. XVI.

Cf. Kurma. Pt. II. Ch. XVII.

³ Itsing. Ch. IV. p. 24, 25, 26.

'Indians take bath before meals. They do not give leavings of food to anybody. Utensils once used are not given to others without being properly cleaned. Earthen and wooden vessels are used only once. Gold, silver, and copper vessels are cleaned before they are used again'—Watters on Yuan Chwang. IX. p. 152.

⁴ Tantravārtika.

⁵ Kādambari.

⁶ Itsing. IX. 39, Ast. Sam. X. 59.

मनिन्दं भक्षयेदित्यं वाग्यतोन्नमकुत्सयन् ।
पञ्चप्रासान् महामीनं प्राणाद्याप्यायनाय च ।

Vispu. Pu. III. 11.85.

भुक्त्वा सम्यगाचाम्य प्राङ्मुखोदङ्मुखोऽपि वा ।
यथायत् पुनराचमेत् पाणी प्रक्षाल्यमूलतः ।
सुस्थः प्रक्षान्तचित्तस्तु कृतासनपरिग्रहः ।

Visnu. Pu. III. 11. 86-87.

various food preparations and afternoon meal of sweets such as *modakas*. It seems that there was generally no evening meal.¹ But this may not have been the general rule for every one. Some people, it seems, also took evening meal.² The times of taking meals seem to be well regulated on medical grounds and the transgression of the appropriate time was adjudged a bad habit by physicians.³ Taking meals at midnight at noon or when one was suffering from indigestion was considered improper.⁴ The old rule of dividing the stomach into four parts—two for solid food, one for liquid and one for wind etc. is repeated.⁵

The necessity of changing food according to the temperament and not eating the same preparations day after day was fully recognised.⁶ As before, medical works prescribe food articles suitable for different seasons⁷ and give a list of articles which

¹ यथा देवदत्तः प्रातरूपं भक्षयति, माध्यन्दिने विविधमन्नं खाति, अपराह्णे मोदकान् भक्षयतीति एकस्मिन्नहनीतिगम्यते।

Sabara on Jaimini V. 1.20.

Also see 'Itsing in India' by V.R.R. Dikshitar in I.H.Q. March, 1952, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 p. 117.

अस्ति किञ्चित् प्रातराशेन वेति।

Mṛcchakaṭika.

² पूर्वहिणापराह्णयोर्भोजनम्। सायं चारायनस्य।

Kamasutra. I. 4.7.

³ उचितवेलातिक्रमं चिकित्सकादोपमुदाहरन्ति।

Malavikagnimitra. II. 35.

⁴ नार्धरात्रौ न मध्याह्ने नाजीर्णे नार्धवस्त्रधृक् न भिन्नभाजने चैव न भूष्यां न च पाणिषु।

Kurma. Pu. II. 19, 20.

C.f. Ast. Hr. Su. XI. 63-68.

⁵ अन्नेन कुक्षेर्द्वावधौ पानेनैकं प्रपूरयेत्।

माथ्र्यं पवनादीनाम् चतुर्थमवशेषयेत्।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 46-47.

⁶ Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 35. See Ast. Sam. Su. X. 67.

⁷ For Food for winter—See Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 13-17 and Ast. Hr. Su. III.

12-13.

For Food for the spring season—See Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 25-27. and Ast. Hr. Su. III. 20-26.

Food For summer—Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 32-34.

भजेन्मधुरमेवात्रं लघु स्निग्धं हिमं द्रवम्।

सुशीततोयसिन्ताज्जो विहयात् सक्तून् सदर्करान्। २८।

मद्यं न पेयं, पेयं वा स्वल्पे सबहुधारि वा

कुन्देन्दुधवलंशालिमन्नीयाज्जलैः पलैः।

पिबेद्रसं नातिथनं रसालां रागषाड्वौ। ३०।

पालकं पञ्चसारं वा नवमुद्भाजने स्थितम्।

could be used daily and of those which should only be used rarely. Easily digestible articles are recommended for daily use while those difficult to digest are considered unfit for daily use.¹ It is laid down that articles difficult to digest, sweet and fatty should be taken in the beginning, acidic and saline preparation in the middle and other flavours in the end.² As before the medical works also mention preparations which should not be taken together.³

The general rules of etiquette were mostly the same as in the earlier period. People were generally expected to eat facing the east, sitting on a seat and not on a cot, in proper utensils, at proper time and at a proper place.⁴ They were also expected

मोच चोषदलेयुक्तं सात्त्व्यं मृण्मयशुक्तिभिः।३१।
पाटसावासितं चाग्निः सकर्पूरं मुशीतलम्।
मधुसर्जूरं मृदीका पृथक् सिताम्भसा।
मन्थो वा पृथ्वसारेण सधृतं लाजसक्तुभिः।
द्राक्षा मधुकर्जूरं काश्मर्यैः सपृथक्।
तुल्यांशैः कल्पितापूतं शीतं कर्पूरवासितम्।३२।

Ast. Hr. Su. III. 28-35.

For Food for the Rainy season—See Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 44-46. and Ast. Hr. Su. III. 45-47.

For Food for the Autumn season—See Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 54-59, and Ast. Hr. Su. III. 47-48.

¹ शीलेच्छालिगोधूमं यव दण्टिकं जाङ्गलम्।
मुनिषण्णकं जीवन्ती बालमूलकं वास्तुकम्।४२।
पथ्यामलकमृदीका पटालीमुद्गशर्कराः।
धृतं दिग्बोदकं क्षीरं क्षौद्रदाहिमं सन्धवम्।४३।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 42-43.

किलाटं दधि कूर्चिका धारं शुक्ताममूलकम्।
कुशकुण्डं वराहावि गोमत्स्यं महिषाग्नयम्।४०।
माषमिण्डाव शाखूकं बिसं पिष्टं विहृदकम्।
शुण्कं शाकानि यवकान् फणितं च न शीलयेत्।४१।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 40-41.

² विसेधु मोचचोषाग्नमोदकोत्कारिकादिकम्।
अघादं द्रव्यं गुरु स्निग्धं स्त्रादु मन्दं स्थिरं पुरः।४४।
विपरीतमतश्चान्ते मध्येऽम्ललवणोत्कटम्।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 45-46.
C.f. Visnu. Pu. III. 11.82-83.

³ Ast. Sam. Su. IX. 1-12.

⁴ प्राङ्मुखोऽग्नानिभुञ्जीत सूर्याभिमुख एव च।
आसीनः स्वासनं शुद्धे भूम्यां पारीतिभाय च।
आयुष्यं प्राङ्मुखो भुङ्क्ते वशस्यं दक्षिणामुखः।
श्रियं प्रत्यङ्मुखो भुङ्क्ते ऋतं भुङ्क्ते उदङ्मुखः।

Kurma Pt. II. Ch. XIX.

to take off their head dress and shoes before taking meals.¹ A person was not advised to eat in darkness, in a temple or with his wife. He was not to eat from a broken vessel or from the lap or from the palm of his hands,² nor should he drink water by joining his hands together.³ A person was not to take sweets when others did not partake of them.⁴ He was not to eat all the solid food served to him but was to leave some for departed spirits and birds.⁵ But it was considered improper to leave liquid articles of food such as honey, curds and clarified butter as also delicious cakes called *Sasakuli*.⁶ People generally avoided preparations of sesamum at night.⁷

Itsing states that sitting crosslegged side by side and to have meals stretched out was considered improper. The priests sat on separate small chairs. The chair was about seven inches high by a foot square and its seat was made of wicker. They placed their feet on the ground and trays were placed before them.⁸ First one or two pieces of ginger with some salt were

नार्वदी संस्थिते पात्रे नादेशे च नरेश्वर।
नाकाले नातिसंकीर्णे दत्वाद्यं च नराग्नये।

Visnu. III. 11.79.

¹ यद्भुङ्क्ते वेष्टितशिराः यच्चभुङ्क्ते विदिङ्मुक्तः।
सोपानत्कश्च यो भुङ्क्ते सर्वविघातदातुरम्।

Kurma. XIX.

² नार्धरात्रे न मध्याह्ने नार्ज्ये नार्द्रवस्त्रघृक्।
न भिन्नभाजने चैव न भूम्यां न पाणिषु।
नोष्णित्यो घृतमादद्यान्न मूर्धानं स्पृशन्नपि।
न ब्रह्मकीर्तयित्वापि न निःशेषं न भार्यया।
नान्यकारे न सन्ध्यायां न च देवालयादिषु।

Kurma Pu. II. 19. 20-22

³ See F.D.A.I. p. 192, f. n. 1.

⁴ नादत्वानृष्टपदनीयात् बहूनां च पश्यताम्।
नादनीयं बहवश्चैव नरावकस्य पश्यतः।
बहूनां प्रेक्षमाणानां नैकस्मिन् बहवस्तथा।

Visnu. Pu.

⁵ Itsing. p. 24.

⁶ नाशेषं पुरुषोदनीयावन्वयं जगतीपते।
नान्यन्नदधिसर्पिभ्यः शङ्कुत्यश्च विवेकवान्।

Visnu. Pu. III. 11.82.

⁷ सर्वं च तिलसंबद्धं नादादस्तमिते रवी
न भुक्तनात्र आयस्येन निषिद्धं भजेत्सुखम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. III. 80.

⁸ Itsing. pp. 22, 24, 116, 123.

served. Then some boiled rice and bean soup were served with hot butter sauce as flavouring which was mixed with fingers with other food. Then cakes, fruits, clarified butter and sugar were served.¹ After the guests had taken their meals tooth woods and pure water were supplied to them for cleansing the mouth. Sometimes a perfumed paste was given to rub hands with before washing in order to make them fragrant and clean.

The practice of drinking some liquid such as cold or warm water, whey, butter milk, and sour gruel is mentioned in the medical works.² After this liquid, betel leaves, with some fragrant spices, were taken as it was believed that it helped digestion, removed the phlegm and made the mouth fragrant.³ The practice of betel chewing was so common that it is mentioned in the Kāmasūtra in the account of the citizen.⁴ In the Harṣacarita we read that Sudṛṣṭi had his lips red with betel leaves.⁵ King Sūdraka also used to chew betel leaves after his midday

¹ Itsing. pp. 39-40.

² घनपानं हिमं वारि यवगोधूमयोहितम् । ४७
दधि मद्ये विषे क्षौद्रे कौण्डं पिष्टमयेषुतु ।
शाकमुद्गादि विकृती मस्तुतक्रान्त काञ्जिकम् ।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 47-48.

³ Betel leaves are mentioned in the Raghu VI. 64 and betel nuts in Raghu XIII. 17.

ताम्बूलं कटु सक्षारं हृष्यमुष्णं कफप्रणुत् । ८३
मेदि संमोहकृतं पूगं कपाय स्वादुरोचकम् ।
जातिपत्री कटुफलं कङ्कालकं त्वक्कम् । ८४
लघु तृष्णापहं हृद्यं यक्त्रं दुर्गन्धनाशनम् ।
सस्वादु तिक्तस्तृष्णाघ्नः कर्पूरपृष्ठेदनोहिमः । ८५

Ast. Hr. XII. 83-85.

कामप्रदीपयति रूपमभिव्यनक्ति सोमाग्नभावहति वक्त्रमुगन्धितां च
ऊर्जं करोति कफजांश्च निहन्ति रोगांस्ताम्बूलमेवमपरांश्च गुणान् करोति ।
युक्तेन वर्णेन करोति रागं रागं क्षयं पूगफलातिरिक्तम्
वूर्णाधिकं वक्त्रविगन्धकारि पत्राधिकम् साधु करोति गन्धम् ।
पत्राधिकम् निशितं सफलं दिवा च प्रोक्तान्यथाकरणमस्त्विवर्चनं च
कनकोलं पूगलवली फलपारिजातं रामोदितं मदमुदामुदितं करोति ।

Bṛhatsaṁhitā 77. 35-37.

C.f. Itsing IX. 39.

दीयते गणिका कामुकयोः सकर्पूरं ताम्बूलम् ।

Mṛcchakaṭika IV.

Some fragrant spices such as camphor and cloves were also taken after meals to make the mouth fragrant (Harṣacarita. p. 21).

⁴ गृहीतमुखवारताम्बूलः

Kamasutra I. 4.5.

⁵ Harṣacarita. p. 85.

meal.¹ Yuan Chwang received one hundred and twenty betel leaves and twenty betel nuts daily as part of his ration.² The practice of smoking a cigar prepared with fragrant substances is also mentioned.³ After the meals the rich avoided hard work⁴ and indulged in such enjoyments as listening to the conversation of parrots or *sārikās*, seeing the fights between quails, cocks or rams, or the shows of acrobats and clowns. Sometimes they also slept during the day.⁵

Children used to take some breakfast in the morning.⁶ The newly married couple were as before expected to avoid saline preparations.⁷ The Buddhist monks did not drink intoxicating drinks and avoided taking meals at forbidden hours.⁸ Their breakfast generally consisted of rice water, their lunch of rice, butter milk, fruits and sweet melons and they were permitted to have a light evening meal.⁹ Fahien also states that liquid food was permitted to monks at irregular hours.¹⁰ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* lays down that an ascetic should not be fond of taking only one

¹ परिपीतधूपधूमवतिरुपसृश्य च गृहीत ताम्बूलः।

Kadan.bari Para. 15.

² Beal Si-yu-ki.

³ See f. n. 1 above.

मृदुपीत धूपिताम्बर श्राव्यं मण्डनञ्च विश्राणा।

परिपीतधूमवतिः स्थास्यसि रमणान्तिके सुतनु।

Kuṭṭanīmatam.

कर्पूरगुह चन्दनमुस्ता पूति श्रियंगुबालं च

मांसी चेति नृपाणां योग्या रतिनाम धूमवतिः।

Nāgara Sarvasva.

Quoted by Dr. V.S. Agrawal in his 'Kādambarī Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyāyana' p. 32. Chap. 15.

Cazaka's reference to the preparation of the cigar (vide F.D.A.I. p. 163, f. n. 3 and the above quotations make it clear that it was a common practice among the rich.

⁴ See F.D.A.I. p. 195, f. n. 7.

⁵ भोजनान्तरं शुक सारिका प्रलपनव्यापाराः। लावककुलकुटमेययुद्धानि तास्ताश्च कलाक्रीडाः। पीठमर्दं विट विद्रूपकायता व्यापाराः।

Kamasutra, I. 4.8.

⁶ दारकाणां पूर्वभक्षिकाम् धनमुपयच्छति।

Divyavadana. p. 30. 20.

⁷ संगतयोः स्त्रियरात्रमथः सव्या व्रतचर्यं क्षारलवण बर्जमाहारस्तथा सप्ताहं सतृयमङ्गल-
स्तानम् प्रसाधनम् सहभोजनम्.....।

Kamasutra, 191. 1.

⁸ Itsing. Chapter X.

⁹ Itsing. pp. 26, 44, 117.

¹⁰ Legge—Fahien p. 44.

foodgrain nor should he take honey, meat and salt. He should not accept uncooked food.¹

A taboo against the use of certain vegetables such as onions and garlic is found even in this period.² The Purāṇas declare that *masūra*, linseed, *niṣpāva*, *rājamāṣa*, *kuṣumbbika*, *koḍrava*, *udāra*, gram, *kapittha* and *madhuka*, should not be used as articles of food.³ The Kātyāyana Smṛti lays down that vegetables, meat, *masūra*, gram, *koradūṣaka*, honey, some alkalies and sea-salt should not be used as food on the day of a fast.⁴ Generally rice boiled with *guḍa*, clarified butter, curds or rice alone were regarded as proper articles of food on the day of a fast.⁵

It appears that feasts were common during this period. In the friendly parties people enjoyed various kinds of intoxicating drinks, saline preparations, fruits, vegetables, sauces and condiments.⁶ At the time of the ceremony of laying the foundation of a house Brāhmaṇas were fed with clarified butter and milk rice and masters of dramatic art with rice cooked with *guḍa*.⁷ In the royal households the food was as before, examined to see whether it contained any poisonous substance before it was served.⁸ Fahien states that the kings of the states near Mathura

¹ अकामादपि हिसेत यदि भिक्षुः पशून् मृगान् ।
कृच्छाति कृच्छं कुर्वीत चान्द्रायणमयापि वा । १६ ।
एकान्नं मधुमांसं वा ह्याम श्राद्धं तथैव च ।
शमोऽप्यानि यतीनां च प्रत्यक्षलवणानि च । १७ ।

Vayu. Pu. XVIII. 16, 20.

² Kurma Pu. Pt. II. Ch. XVII.

³ Matsya Pu. XV., Padma. Pu. Sṛṣṭi. IX. 62-66.

⁴ शाकं मांसं मसूरञ्च चणकं कोरदूपकान्
मायान् मधुवराक्षञ्च वर्जयेदोषवसथ्यकैः ।
सज्जीक्षारं यवक्षारं टक्कुणक्षारमेव च ।
व्रतस्थो वर्जयेन्नित्यं सामुद्रं तवणं तथा ।

Katyayana Sm. 27.

⁵ गुडोदनं घृतं दधि तण्डुला आर्येणात्तव्यं रसायनं सर्वमस्तीति ।

Mṛcchakatika. Act. I. p. 14.

⁶ तत्र मधुमेयं सुरासवान् विविधलवण फलहरित शाकतिक्त रुटुकाम्लोपदंशान् वेश्याः
पाययेयुरनुपिबेयुश्च ।

Kamasutra. I. 4.23.

⁷ Bharata. II. 41-42.

⁸ विरज्यति चकोरस्य दृष्टिः पार्थिवसत्तमः ।
विकृति च स्वरो याति कोकिलस्य तथा नृप ।
गतिः स्खलति हंसस्य भृङ्गराजश्च कूजति ।
क्रौञ्चो मदमयाम्यति कृकवाकु विरीति च ।

Matsya. 219. 18-20.

used to take off their caps when serving food with their own hands to a community of monks and they sat on a carpet on the ground and not on couches.¹ In the Śrāddha feasts sesamum, meat of many animals, clarified butter, milk honey, sugarcane, juices of fruits such as mango, grapes and pomegranate, food grains such as *śyāmāka*, *śāli*, *nivāra*, *mudga* and barley were used while *masūra*, *niṣpāva*, *rājamāṣa*, *safflower*, lotus, *Bilva*, *koḍrava*, *udāra*, gram, *kapittha*, linseed, milk of goats and sheep, some spices and vegetables were avoided.² The same food was served to all and all the relatives and servants were fed in such feasts.³ Poor people were permitted to perform these rites with fruits, roots, sesamum and water.⁴ Gift of uncooked food is

भोज्यमन्नं परीक्षार्थं प्रदद्यात् पूर्वमन्त्रये।
वयोम्यश्च ततो दद्यात् तत्रलिङ्गानि लक्षयेत्।

Kamandaka. VII. 15.

¹ Legge—Fahien. Ch. XVI.

² श्रीहिमिरचयवैश्वर्यैरङ्गिर्मूलं फलेन वा।
दद्यात्कैश्च यवैः काशैर्नीवारैश्च प्रियङ्गुभिः।
गोधूमैश्चतिलैर्मुद्गैर्ममिं प्रीणयते पितृन्।
भ्रामान् पानेरतानिष्ठात् मृद्वीकाश्च सदादिमान्।
विदाश्चाश्च कुरण्डैश्चश्राद्धकाले प्रदापयेत्।
लाजा मधुमुता दद्यात्सक्तून् शर्करासाह।
.....
पिप्पली हृषिकेश्यैश्च तथा चैव मसूरकम्।
कूष्माण्डालाबु वार्ताकि तन्तुलीयकमेव च।
कुसुम्भं पिण्डमूलं वै तन्तुलीयकं मेव च।
राजमायास्तथाक्षीरं माहिषाजं विवर्जयेत्।
भ्रातृभ्यः कोविदारैश्च पातक्या मरिचांस्तथा।
वर्जयेत्सप्तवत्नेन श्राद्धकाले द्विजोत्तम।

Kurma. XX.

Markandeya Pu. 29.9-11., Visnu. Pu. III. 16 C.f. Matsya Pu. XV. also XVII, Vayu. Pu. Ch. 78, 8-48 and Ch. 83, 3-9.

³ न पक्क्या विषमं दद्यान्नायाचेत् न दापयेत्
भुञ्जीरन्नग्रतः श्रेष्ठं न भूयः प्राकृतान्गुणान्
ज्ञातिष्वपि चतुर्थेषु स्वान्भृतान् भोजयेत्ततः।
पश्चात् स्वयंचपरनीभिः शेषमन्नं समाचरेत्।

Kurma. XXII.

C.f. Matsya, XVIII. 57.62.

⁴ अपि मूलफलैर्वापि प्रकुर्वन्निर्धनोद्विजः।
तिलोदकैस्तपयित्वा पितृन् स्नात्वा समाहितः।

Kurma. XXII.

permitted by a Sūdra.¹ Generally vessels made of gold, silver, or copper were used in a Śrāddha by the rich.²

We can also form some idea of the food habits of the people during the period. The inhabitants of the east were mainly rice³ and fish eaters.⁴ They were fond of drinking *sura*,⁵ and alkaline substances suited them.⁶

The staple food grain of the people in the north was wheat,⁷ and women there drank liquors.⁸ The inhabitants of the south enjoyed boiled rice with tamarind.⁹ In the deserts the food of the people consisted of milk, curds and fruit of *karira* tree. In Sindh fish was much eaten, in the *Āsmaka* country, oils and acidic substances, and in the Malaya region roots and tubers. The people of Konkana were fond of fruit juices and the mountaineers of groats. The staple food of the inhabitants of Avanti was wheat, of the Bālhiḥa region meat roasted on spits with sour gruel and roasted meat, wheat and grapes were the favourite food articles of the Greeks and Scythians.¹⁰ In Jhang and Montgomery districts (*Uṣinara*) people were fond of drinking milk, while in *Gandhāra* people drank decoctions of various kinds.¹¹

There were certain people who lived in their homes but led the life of recluses. They did not join community feasts. Some did not take food offered even by the three higher castes.

¹ एवं ब्रूदोपि सामान्य वृद्धि श्राद्धेऽपि सर्वदा ।
नभस्कारेण मन्त्रेण कुर्यादामान्नतः खदा ।

Matsya. Ch. 17, 70.

² सौवर्णं राजतं ताम्रं पितृणां पात्रमुच्यते ।
राजतं राजतवत्तं वा पितृणां पात्रमुच्यते ।

Vayu. 74 1.

³ Itsing. p. 43.

⁴ Bṛhaspati Sm. II. 10.

⁵ Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini VIII. 4.9.

⁶ Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 232-234.

⁷ Itsing p. 45.

⁸ Bṛhaspati Sm. I. 129. F.D.A.I. p. 176 f. n. 7.

⁹ Dasakumaracarita. VI.

¹⁰ Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 232-234, Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini VII. 4.9.

Āsmaka—the region between the Godavari and Mahishmati on the Narmada.

¹¹ Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini VIII. 4.9.

क्षीरपानाः उष्णीनराः ।

They probably cooked their own food.¹ It shows that restrictions about interdining were sufficiently rigid in this period.

Modakas were offered to the preceptor on the day of initiation of a pupil.² All guests such as teachers, pupils, disciples, strangers and friends were offered clarified butter, honey, sugar or one of the eight kinds of syrups which were allowed by the Buddha.³ Certain rules of etiquette were observed in the dinners of foreigners.⁴

In Kumarila's time Brāhmaṇa women in Ahicchatra (modern Ramnagar in Bareilly district) and Mathurā drank wine, the Brāhmaṇas of the north ate from the same plate with their wives, children and friends. Brāhmaṇas of the south took their meal sitting on couches, Brāhmaṇas both in the north and the south had no objection to taking cooked food that remained in pots after their friends and relatives had partaken of it. They had no objection to taking betel leaves touched by persons of all castes and many of them did not sip water after taking their meals.⁵ Food obtained by begging was considered as unwelcome as death itself while that obtained without begging was regarded as nourishing as nectar.⁶

To sum up the period under review was an era of great prosperity. It resulted in the further enriching of varieties of dishes. Some new preparations of wheat and a stuffing prepared with *mudga* were used. A considerable section of Hindu society had accepted vegetarianism as the normal way of life. Some of the Purāṇas prescribe vegetarian dishes even in a Śrāddha where meat was obligatory before. But the Kṣatriyas relished meat dishes. A tasty meat soup called *Dakṣatāvaṇika* was prepared. In some regions where civilization was not much advanced, such as in the Vindhya, people were mostly non-vegetarians.

On account of intercourse with foreigners and general prosperity the moral standards had gone down considerably even

¹ विवर्जितजनपदस्तयः।

वर्णत्रयं व्यावृत्तिं विवर्जयिष्यतः।

Harṣacarita. p. 39.

² Malavika. p. 81.

³ Takakusu—Itsing (1896) p. 125.

⁴ Ibid. Ch. XXXI and XXXV.

⁵ Tantravārtika.

⁶ Amar. Vaiśya. 3.

in the Madhyadeśa. The rich indulged in drinking. Even respectable women considered drinking wines a necessary embellishment. But the Brāhmaṇas generally drank syrups. Betel chewing was common. Some articles such as gram, and *masūra* were still considered exotic and onions and garlic were avoided by respectable persons.

CHAPTER VII FOOD AND DRINKS

(C. 750 To C. 1200 A.D.)

We get some information about food and drinks from Sanskrit and Prākṛta works which were written during the period C. 750 to C. 1200 A.D. Some of the Purāṇas and the Smṛtis which were written during this period also enable us to form an idea about the food habits of the people. But a detailed account of the dishes used during the period is to be found in the *Mānasollāsa*. It describes the various beverages used and narrates vividly the method of preparation of a number of vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes which were used in the royal households.

CEREALS AND PULSES

The works of this period mention all the food grains used in the earlier period.¹ A dish of hot fragrant rice, the grains of which were unbroken and separate from each other was eaten with great relish.² Rice cooked in the milk of a buffalo was also very popular.³ We come across some new preparations of wheat

¹ Kṣīrasvāmin mentions the following food grains:—

Vrihi, yava, masūra, godbāma, mudga, māṣa, tila, caṇaka, aṇu, priyaṅgu, kodrava, makuiṣṭha, śali, āḍbaki, kalāya, kulatība and ṣaṇa.

C.f. Viṣṇucēvara on Yaj., Garuḍa. VIII. 48.

The Śukranīti lays down that grains which are well developed, bright, best of the species, dry, new, good in colour, smell and taste should be stored by the king to meet the needs of the country for three years.

IV. 2. 27-29.

² Cooked rice.

अमीलसद्वाण्मसष्टितासिलम् वियुनतमन्योग्यमयुनतमार्दवम्
रसोत्तरं गौरमपीवरं रसाद्बुभुञ्जतामोदनमोदनं जनाः।

Naiṣadha XVI. 68.

³ इयामाकं कङ्गमीवारं गन्धस्तलि सुतच्छुल्लं। ३७३।

सरवेष्टितं सेवार्कदिवसं क्षुब्धविस्तृतं।

चिरप्रसूतमहिषीपयसा पायसं पथेत्।

Manas. III. 1373-74.

such as *kasāra*¹ and *subālis*.² The latter were cakes of wheat flour fried in clarified butter and coated with sugar. If these cakes were not sufficiently hard they were called *Pābalikā*.³ The preparation of cakes of wheat flour has been described in detail in the *Mānasollāsa*. They are called *polikās* or *maṇḍakas*.⁴ Thread like preparation of wheat flour were called *sevikās*⁵ and thin round cakes of fine wheat flour placed one over the other before frying in oil were called *Patrikās*.⁶

¹ The Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu calls wheat in this period the food of the Yavanas, but it is now extensively used.

Kasāra—

गुणाधारिया तद्वद्भ्या खीरलज्जा कसारं सुसारं मुहलीमनुज्जा ।

Bhavi. XII. 3.

² तैलपूर्णकटाहेतुमुतन्ते सोहलांपचेत् उत्तानपाकं संसिद्धाः कठिना सोहलाः मताः ।

Manas. XIII. 1384.

See f. n. 1 above.

Bhavi. XII. 3.

³ *Pābalikā*

तैल मग्नाः मृद्वः पाहलिकाः स्मृताः ।

Manas. XIII. 1385.

⁴ *Maṇḍakas*—Wheat was washed, dried in the sun, ground, and cleaned in a sieve. The flour was mixed with clarified butter and salt and made into balls. The balls were turned into cakes with the palms of hands and were cooked in a pot-herd. They were baked on live charcoals before eating. Sometimes a wooden roller and a piece of stone were used to change the balls into circular cakes before baking.

गोधूमाः क्षालिता शुभ्राः शोषिता रविरस्मिभिः । ७५

घट्टंश्चूणिताः श्लक्ष्णाश्चालन्या भित्तिषीकृताः ।

गोधूमचूर्णकं श्लक्ष्णं किञ्चित्घृतं विमिश्रितम् । ७६

लवणं च संयुक्तं क्षीरं नीरेण पिण्डितम् ।

मुमहृत्यां काष्ठपात्र्यां करास्फालैश्चिर्मर्दयेत् । ७७

मदितं चिककजीभूतं गोलकान् परिकल्पयेत् ।

स्नेहाम्यक्तैः करतलैः क्षालिचूर्णैर्विरुक्षितान् । ७८

प्रसारयेत् गोलकांस्तान् करासञ्चारवर्तनैः ।

विस्तृतामण्डकाः श्लक्ष्णाः सितपट्टसमप्रभाः । ७९

प्रवत्नान्निक्षिपेत्तज्जस्तप्तसर्पर्मस्तके ।

पक्वाश्चापनयेच्छीघ्रं यावत्काण्ड्यं न जायते ।

चतस्रश्च चतस्रश्च घटिता मण्डका वराः ।

गोलान् प्रसारितान् पाणावज्जारेषु विनिक्षिपेत् ।

Manas. III. 1375-81.

पयःस्मितामण्डकं मण्डनाम्बरा वटाननेन्दुः पृथुलदृक्स्तनी ।

पदं रुचिर्भोज्यभुजां भुजि त्रिमा, प्रियावभूवोज्ज्वलं कुरहारिणी ।

Naiṣadha. XVI. 107.

⁵ *Sevikā*—Kathā Koṣaprakaraṇa, Śālibhadra Kathā. p. 58, Vilāsavatī.

⁶ तनुं प्रसारितान्गोलान् ताप्यां स्नेहेन पाचितान् । ८५ ।

उपर्युपरिनिक्षिप्ताः पत्रिकाविपचेत् सुधीः । ८६ ।

Manas. III. 1385-86.

Gram now seems to have become a favourite food as its use is recommended by Someśvara in many vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes.¹ *Vidalapāka* was prepared with the pulse of gram, *rājamāṣa*, *maṣūra* or *rājamudga* mixed with slightly parched *āḍbaki* pulse of which the outer covering was removed with a grinding stone and a winnowing basket. The mixture was cooked on slow fire. Water mixed with asafoetida, turmeric and rock salt was added to it.² A soup prepared with *mudga*, asafoetida, pieces of ginger, pieces of lotus stalks fried in oil or the seeds of *Priyāla* is also mentioned. Sometimes pieces of brinjal fried in oil or the pieces of meat of a sheep or jackal or the pieces of the marrow of an animal were also cooked with it. Some spices such as powder of black pepper, and dry ginger were mixed in the end.³ *Vaṭakas* prepared with *māṣa* flour, fried in clarified butter

¹ Split green grams are also mentioned in the preparation of food articles in the Ambasamudra Inscription of Varaguna Pāṇḍya of the ninth century A.D.

Epigraphia Indica Vol. IX. p.92

² चणका राजमाषाश्च मसूरा राजमुद्गकाः।

धरदुर्दलिता कार्याः पाकार्यं हि विचक्षणैः।

किञ्चिद्भ्रष्टारस्तथावयो यन्त्रावर्ते द्विभाक्ताः।

विदसी च कृताः सम्यक् कूर्पकं वितुषीकृताः।६०।

स्यात्वा शीतोदकं क्षिपवा विदलं सममानतः।

भावपेद्विदलान्पश्चाच्चुत्स्यामारोपयेत्ततः।६१।

मृदग्निपच्यमानेज्जंतं हिगुतीयं विनिक्षिपेत्।

वर्जिषं रजनौचूर्णमीषन्तत्र नियोजयेत्।६२।

मुहुर्मुहुर्क्षिपेत्तोयं यावत्पाकस्य पूर्णता।

मुद्गलणं संश्वयं कृत्वाविश्वरस्येन निक्षिपेत्।६३।

Manas. III. 1359-63.

³ प्रक्षालितान् वरान् मुद्गान् समतोये विनिक्षिपेत्।६७।

चुत्वा मृदग्निनापाकः कर्तव्यः सुपकारकः।

पच्यमानेषु मुद्गेषु हिक्नुवारिविनिक्षिपेत्।६८।

घाद्रं कस्य च खण्डानि सुस्मार्णि च विनिक्षिपेत्।

वार्तिकं पाटितं तैले भृष्टं तत्र विनिक्षिपेत्।६९।

तैलभृष्टा मूढभूताः क्षिपेद् वा विसृज्य चिकाः।

बीजानि प्रियालस्य क्षिपवादव्याविवर्तयेत्।७०।

.....

केचिदिच्छन्ति रुच्यर्थं मेघमांसस्य खण्डकान्।७१।

वृक्कान् वापिदिभामिष्ठान् मेदतः शकलानिवा।

Manas. III. 1367-68.

Vaṭaka—a kind of cake.

and dropped in milk were called *Kṣīraṇṇa*.¹ A preparation of fermented fine flour of *māṣa* made into small circular balls was called *idarikā*. It was fried in clarified butter, mixed with some spices such as black pepper and fumigated with asafoetida and cumin seeds.² Another preparation of *māṣa* flour was *Ghārikā*. These were round cakes with five or seven holes, fried in oil till their colour became red. When they had no holes they were called *Vaṭakas*. These *vaṭakas* were also dropped in sour gruel or churned curds with sugar. Sometimes sour gruel and well churned curds with some spices such as rock salt, ginger, coriander, cumin and black pepper were cooked to thick consistency and *vaṭakas* dropped into it. Some powder of black pepper was added to it and the mixture fumigated before use.³ For preparing *vaṭikās*, *māṣa* pulse was soaked in water, the outer covering

¹ मसङ्कृतं क्षीरवटैस्तद्वनताम् रराज पाकापित गैरिकभिया ।

Naiṣadha. XVI. 98.

Manasa. XIII. 1594.

दुग्ध मध्यक्षिप्तमपिसाक्षितैर्वटकास्यैः ।

Commentary Naiṣadha.

² See 'Studies in the History of Indian Dietetics', 'History of the Dishes, Idli and Dosa' by Dr. P.K. Gode in Dr. S.K. Chatterji Volume—1955.

अग्लीभूतम् माषपिष्टम् वटिकासु विनिक्षिपेत् ।

वस्त्रगर्भाभिरन्याभिः पिषाय परिपाचयेत् । १३६६ ।

अवतार्यान् मरिचं चूर्णितं विकिरेदनु ।

घृतान्तां हिंगुसर्पिण्यां जीरकेण च धूपयेत् । १४०० ।

सुशीता धवला रत्नवता एता इठरिका वराः ।

Manas. III. 1399-1401.

C.f. Supāsanahacarīyā, p. 485.

³ तस्यैवमाषपिष्टस्य गोलकान् विस्तृतान् घनान् । १ ।

पञ्चभिः सप्तभिर्वापि छिद्रेष्वच परिशीभितान् ।

सप्ततैले पचेद् यावत्तलीह्रियं तेषु जायते । २ ।

धारिका संजया स्वाता भक्ष्येषु सुमनोहराः ।

निच्छिद्राः धारिकाः पक्वा मयिते शर्करायुते । ३ ।

एतामरिचसंयुक्ते निक्षिप्ता वटकाभिधाः ।

त एव वटकाः क्षिप्ताः काञ्चिके काञ्चिकाभिधाः । ४ ।

यत्र यत्र द्रवद्रव्ये तन्नाम्ना वटकास्तु ते ।

आरत्नालेन सान्द्रेण दध्ना सुमयितेन च ।

सन्धवादकधान्याकजीरकं च विमिश्रयेत् ।

मरिचानि द्विधा कुत्वाक्षिपेत्तत्र तु पाकवित् ।

दध्ना विषट्क्यन् सर्वं पचेद् यावद घनीभवेद् ।

उत्तार्य वटकान् क्षिप्वा विकिरेन्मरिचं रजः ।

हिङ्गुना धूपयेत् सम्यग् वटकास्ते मनोभिधाः ।

Manas. III. 1401-1418.

removed and the pulse ground on a piece of stone. Some spices were mixed in it and the mixture, after churning well with hands, was allowed to ferment for a few days. Then they were formed into small balls and dried. They were cooked whenever required.¹

In the preparation of the dish called *Kaṣakarna*, pulse of *vaṣṭāṇaka* (pea) soaked in water was ground and fumigated with clarified butter after adding rock salt. The powder of *Niṣpāva* was then mixed with it and the mixture made into round cakes which were fried in oil.² *Pūrikā* was a cake of gram flour fried in oil. Sometimes the pulse was boiled a little before grinding and some spices such as salt, black pepper, cardamom, asafoetida and sugar were mixed in the ground pulse before frying.³ *Veṣṭikā* was a preparation of gram pulse mixed with some spices covered with fine wheat flour and cooked in a pot-sherd. Sometimes ground *māṣa* and *mudga* pulses were used instead of gram pulse.⁴ *Dhoṣakas* are also prepared with the same ingredients

¹ मायस्य विदलान् किलन्नान् निस्तुवान् हस्तलोढनः।१७।

ततः सम्प्रेष्य पेयण्यां संभारेण विमिश्रितान्।

स्थात्वा विमर्द्य बहुसः स्थापयेत्तदा हस्ततः।१८।

अम्लीभूतं माषपिष्टं वटिकामु विनिक्षिपेत्।

Manas. III. 1397-99.

² वट्टाणकस्य विदलं च विदलं चणकस्य च।१३१४।

चूर्णितं वारिणा सार्धं सपिषा परिभाषितम्।

सन्धवेन च संयुक्तं कञ्चुना पञ्चिटितम्।१३१५।

निष्पावपूर्णसंयुक्तं पेयण्यां च प्रसारितम्।

कटाहे तैलसंपूर्णं कटकणान् प्रपाषयेत्।१३१६।

यावद्बुद्बुद् संकाशा भवन्ति कनकस्त्रियः।

Manas. III. 1394-97.

³ उत्क्रवाय्य विदलान् पिष्ट्वा चणकप्रभृतीन् शुभान्।

हिङ्गुसन्धवसंयुक्तान् शर्करापरिमिश्रितान्।

मरिचैस्तान्निष्यैर्न युक्तान् गोसकवेष्टितान्।

किञ्चित् प्रसारिते तैले पूरिका विषयेच्छुभाः।

एवं ताप्यां पचेदन्याः पूरिकाश्च विषज्जनाः।

Manas. III. 1388-90.

⁴ हरिमन्स्य विदलं हिङ्गुजीरकमिश्रितम्।

लवणेन च संयुक्तपाद्रकेण समन्वितम्।

वेष्टयित्वा गोतकेन वेष्टिका सर्परे पचेत्।

Manas. III. 1391-92.

गोधूम चूर्णघनवेष्टितं माषमुदगं।

पिष्टं सुपक्वमिति वेष्टनिका वदन्ति।

Suśeṣa. 31.

as *vasfikā*.¹

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk was now used in various forms. When half the quantity was evaporated it was drunk. In case it was reduced to one third of the original quantity it became a dish that could be licked. When one sixth of the original quantity remained it was used for preparing sweets and when only one eighth remained it was called *Sarkarā*.² Milk was also used in the preparation of some sweets such as *ksiraprakāra*, *ksiravaṭa* and *ksirayaṣṭikā* of which we read for the first time.³ Curds prepared from the milk of those buffaloes, whose calves were fully grown up were regarded as very tasty.⁴ Curds were given different names according to the quantity of water mixed.⁵ Curds churned and mixed with sugar and fumigated with camphor were also used.⁶

Whey was taken with rock salt and some spices such as cumin

- ¹ विदलं षणक्त्वं पूर्वंसंभारसंस्कृतम् । ६२ ।
ताप्यां तैले विलिप्तायां घोसकान् विपचेद्बुधः ।
माषस्य राजमाषस्य बट्टाणस्य च घोसकान् । ६३ ।
प्रनेनेव प्रकारेण विपचेत् पाकतत्त्ववित् ।

Manas. III. 1392-94.

It was the same preparation as we call *Doss* now. See reference to *Iḍṭi* above.

- ² अर्धावशिष्टं पाने स्यात् त्रिभागं लेह्यकम् ।
द्विभागं पिण्डतामेति शर्करा स्यादषाढमे ।

Manas. III. 1567.

A variety of scenes common in a dairy farm in this period are described in the *Yasastilaka* (p. 184).

- ³ गुदोदनं पायसं च हविष्यं क्षीर्यष्टिकम् ।
दध्योदनं हविः पूषान्मांसं चित्रान्नमेव च ।

Agni. Pu. 163. 10.

- ⁴ ह्यद्विषद्वज्जयणीपयःसुतं सुषाहदान्पक्कमिवोदृतं दधि ।

Naiṣadha. XVI. 93.

⁵ *Matbitta* were curds churned without water, *udasyit* curds with equal quantity of water and *lakera* with water one fourth of the quantity of curds.

- निर्जलं मथितं श्रोतमुदस्वित्याश्चजलार्धकम् ।
पादाम्बु तक्रमुद्दिष्टं धूपितं हिङ्गुजीरकैः ।
घाद्रंकेण रामायुक्तमेलासेन्धवचूणितम् ।

Manas. III. 1571-72.

- ⁶ मथितं शर्करायुक्तमेलाचूर्णविमिश्रितम् ।
कर्पूरधूपितं नाम्ना मन्जिकेत्यभिधीयते ।

Manas. III. 1573.

and ginger.¹ But *Rasāla* continued to be the most popular preparation of curds.² *Temana* was a soup of curds.³ A special preparation of curds with black mustard was much liked.⁴ Butter was clarified with wheat and betel leaves before being used in cooking and frying food articles.⁵ Somadeva also describes the properties of clarified butter, curds, butter and milk.⁶

MEAT DIET

Along with vegetarian dishes meat preparations were quite popular. The Purāṇas prescribe the meat of clean animals for feeding Brāhmaṇas in a Śrāddha.⁷ Brāhmaṇas relished the flesh

- ¹ स्रावितं यद्धृतं तोयं जीरकार्कसंनधनैः ।
संयुक्तं हिङ्गुधूपेन धूपितं मस्तु कीर्तितम् ।

Manas. III. 1575.

- ² निष्पीड्य दधिवस्त्रेण स्नाययेत्तद्गतं जलम् ।
शकरंलासमायुक्तां सूचैः शिखरिणीं मता ।

Manas. III. 1574.

C.f. Bhavisayatta XX., Kav. Mim. XVIII. p. 107.

- ³ कसायंविस्मृतावीवणातिक्लसारा गुह्येणपिगाढा जर्दणपियारा ।

Bhavisayatta, XII.

- ⁴ न राजिकाराद्धमभोजि तत्रकर्मुखेन सीत्कार कृतादधदधि ।
धृतोत्तमाङ्गं कटुभाषपाटवादकाण्डकण्डूवितमूधंतानुभिः ।

Naisadha XVI. 73.

- ⁵ नवनीतं नवंधौतं नीरलेशविवर्जितम् ।
तापयेदग्निना सम्यक् मृदुनाधृत भाण्डके ।
पाके सम्पूर्णतां याते क्षिपेद् गोधूमबीजकम् ।
क्षिपेत्ताम्रमूलपत्रं च पश्चादुत्तारयेद्घृतम् ।

Manas. III. 1577.

- ⁶ Yaśastilaka III. 360-63.

- ⁷ हव्यकव्यनिधुक्तौ तु भक्ष्यौ पाटीन रोहिती ।
मांसाशिमिस्त्वमीभक्ष्याः शश शल्लक कच्छपाः । १४ ।
इवादि गोधे प्रशस्ते च ज्ञाताश्च मृगपक्षिणः ।
ग्राह्यजामः स्वर्गकामैस्त्याज्यं मांसं प्रयत्नतः । १५ ।
यज्ञार्थं पशुहिंसा या सा स्वर्ग्या नेतरा क्वचित् ।

.....
प्राणात्यये ऋतौ श्राद्धे भेदजे विप्रकाश्याया ।
पत्नीत्यमित्थं पल्लं भक्षयन्निव दोषभाक् । १७ ।
मज्जार्यं ब्रह्मणा सृष्टाः पशुदुमगुणीपथीः ।
निष्कन्नहिंसको विप्रस्तासामपि शुभागतिः । १८ ।
धितुदेवप्रनुकृते मधुपर्कार्यमेव च ।

तत्र हिंसाप्यहिंसास्यादधिसान्यत्रमुदुस्त रा ।

Skanda. Pu. Kāsi. 4. 14-20.

C.f. Agni Pu. 163. 1-32, 168. 20-21., Padma Pu. Adi. 56. 40-4.

of buffaloes and took dressed fish.¹ The Kṣatriyas enjoyed eating meat preparations such as dressed fish, roasted sheep.² Sometimes meat was so dressed that it resembled the shape of a *Bimba* fruit.³ Fragrant and tasteful curries of fish, venison, birds and flesh of goats were very much liked.⁴ In the cold season people relished eating pork along with newly husked rice while the essence of deer and quails is mentioned among the dainties used in the summer season.⁵

Many animals such as sheep, goats, gazelles, hares, rhinoceros, buffaloes, fish, birds, sparrows, ring doves, francolin doves, peacocks and pigs were killed for food.⁶ People generally abstained from the meat of cows, horses, mules, asses, camels, elephants, tame poultry, crows, parrots, nightingales and all kinds of eggs.⁷ But in times of scarcity even the flesh of forbidden animals was used for food.⁸ Someśvara describes in detail how meat should be dressed and flesh of which part of the body should be used and of which part avoided. The method of removing the hair of a pig is also described.⁹ He describes in detail the method of preparing a number of meat dishes. *Suṣṭhākas* were prepared from the body of a pig roasted on fire. After roasting, the body was cut into pieces and the pieces again roasted on charcoals.

¹ Samaraiccakahā pp. 258, 260, 475.

² Ibid. pp. 258, 262.

Kumārāpāla was much addicted to flesh eating in his youth and during his wanderings he chiefly maintained himself on flesh.

बासताउवितुहदेव निष्कमण्णं त बल्लहोमहयं ।

महसाहिज्जेण तया कयाइदेत्तं तराइत्तए ।

Moharājaparājaya.

³ इतीरिणे बिम्बपालं पलच्छलाददायिबिम्बाधरयारुचण्वत्तत् ।

Naiṣadha XVI. 95.

⁴ बद्धुस्तमां ते मृगमांससाधितं रसाक्षित्वा मृदुतेमनं मनः ।

निशाधवोत्सङ्गकुरङ्गजैरदः पलेः सपीयूषजलेः किमग्रयि ।

Naiṣadha XVI. 76.

अराध यन्मीनमृगाजपत्रिजैः पलेमृदुस्वादु सुगन्धितेमनम् ।

Naiṣadha XVI. 87.

⁵ सहकाररसाचिता रसाला जलभक्तं फलपाकानिमग्न्याः ।

मृगलावरसाः सूतं च दुग्धं स्मर सञ्जीवनमौषधं निदाघे ।

Kav. Mim. XVIII. 107.

⁶ Al Masudi.

⁷ Al Beruni Ch. 68.

⁸ Kathāsaritsāgara. III. 9-10.

⁹ Mānasollāsa. III. 15. 43-47.

They were eaten with rock salt and black pepper.¹ Sometimes a broth was also prepared with *Sunthakas*. The broth was fumigated with aromatic spices.² *Sunthakas* were sometimes cut into pieces resembling palm leaves. These pieces were dropped into curds mixed with sugar and some aromatic spices were added. Pulp of citron was also mixed with *Sunthakas* and they were eaten after fumigation. In this form they were known as *Cakkalikā*.³ Sometimes green gram was pounded with spices. The whole thing was fried after mixing with good pieces of flesh. Tender *Nispāva*, berries, pieces of onions and garlic were mixed with the fried mixture. The whole thing was dropped in some sour juice and fumigated before eating.⁴ Flesh of sheep, carved into the

- ¹ आनान् सन्धि मूलाद्भिन्नतुर्गः प्रच्छाद्य तं दहेत् । ३० ।
कटित्वमुपायात् क्षालयेन्निर्मलैः जले ।
पाण्डुरं विससक्तुश्च संस्थापितं कटे । ३१ ।
ग्रामूर्धं प्रस्थापयति कर्षिकापरिपाटितम् ।
सारीफलकरेखाभ्यां पित्तवृद्धतस्यायाम् शुण्ठकान् । ३२ ।
चतुरसीकृतान्छण्डान् शूलप्रोतान् प्रदापयेत् ।
अङ्गारेषु प्रभूतेषु घृतं बिन्दुसवावधि । ३३ ।
पश्चात्परिचूर्णेन विकिरेत्तन्धवततः ।
अथवा म्लपरिस्विन्नान् पुवंवत् परिकल्पयेत् । ३४ ।
अथवा दारितान्कृत्वा त्वक् सपान्सबगान्वितान् ।
भृज्जेदङ्गारपुञ्जेषु शुण्ठकान्मृतोपमान् । ३५ ।

Manas. III. 1430-35.

- ² प्रक्षिप्यशुण्ठकांस्तत्र मृदुकुर्याच्च पाकतः ।
भावितादचरसैः सर्वैः सिद्धान्तारखेदं बुधः ।

Manas. III. 1447-48.

- ³ स्विन्नानां शुण्ठकानां च मेदोभागं प्रगृह्य च ।
ताडपत्रतमाकाराः कृत्वा चक्कलिकाः शुभाः । ३६ ।
मथिते शर्करायुक्ते दध्न्येलाविमिश्रिते ।
कर्पूरवासिते तत्र रुच्याश्चक्कलिकाः क्षिपेत् । ३७ ।
मांसमेदोमयान्शुण्ठान् पूर्ववच्छकलीकृतान् ।
मथिते राजिकायुक्ते मातुलिङ्गकैसरैः । ३८ ।
धूपिते हिङ्गुना सम्यक् क्षन्तिचक्कलिकाः क्षिपेत् ।
घृते वा चक्कलींमुष्ट्वा किरेदेला सशर्कराम् । ३९ ।
अथवा मातुलिङ्गस्य सुपक्वस्य च कैसरैः ।
मूधमे रात्रिकण्डेश्च कैसराम्लैर्मनीहरैः । ४० ।
चणितं मरिचं राजिसंघर्षैर्मिश्रयेत्ततः ।
हिङ्गुना धूपिताः साम्ला ह्याश्चक्कलिका वराः ।

Manas. III. 1436-41.

- ⁴ चणकस्य समान् छण्डान्कल्पयित्वा विचक्षणः ।
निशा जीरक तीक्ष्णाद्यैः शुण्ठीषान्यक हिङ्गुभिः । ४१ ।
चूर्णितैर्नैस्यित्वा तांस्ततर्तले विनिक्षिपेत् ।
समानाद्रकखण्डाश्च चणकान् हरितानपि । ४२ ।

shape of plums mixed with some powdered spices and grams and fried in oil with the pieces of such vegetables as brinjal, radish, onions, ginger and sprouted *mudga* beans, was known as *Kavacandī*.¹ Pieces of clean meat chopped into the form of big *Amalakas* were cooked with spices. This liquid preparation was again cooked with some acid fruits, *junthakas*, spices and rock salt. It was then fumigated with spices such as garlic and asafoetida. This preparation was known as *Puryalā*.²

When pieces of clean meat, bored with some holes and filled with spices, were roasted on spits and some spices were mixed with them they were called *Bhadratraka*. Sometimes *Bhadratrakas* were dried after cooking and then fried in ghee.³ Flesh

श्लक्ष्णमांसं क्षिपेत्कोलं निष्पावान्कोमलानपि ।
पलाण्डकसान्वापि लघुनंवापि निक्षिपेत् । ५१ ।
एवं पूर्वोदितं सूदः प्रयुञ्जीत दयाश्रुति ।
शोषितेऽग्निरसे पश्चात् सिद्धमुत्तार्यभूपयेत् । ५२ ।

Manas. III. 1449-52.

¹ बदराकारकान् खण्डान् पूर्ववच्चूर्णमिश्रितान् ।
आद्रकांस्तत् प्रमाणादच पक्वतले विधाययेत् । ५३ ।
वातकिशकलादिव भूषकस्य च खण्डकान् ।
पलाण्डवादकं सम्भूतान् मुद्गाङ्कुर विनिर्मितान् । ५४ ।
वटकाभिक्षिपेत्तत्र मेषकस्य च चूर्णकम् ।
कासमर्देन संयुक्तं पलान्यन्यानि कानिचित् । ५५ ।
सुचिद्धं वातयेद्दूर्पनानारसविमिश्रितम् ।
गगनाद्व्यसमेता सा कवचन्दी भवेच्छुभा । ५६ ।

Manas. III. 1453-56.

² स्थूतमसकस्तृणान् शुद्धमांसस्य खण्डकान् ।
कषाययेद्वाजिका तोयनीगराद्रकसंयुतः । ५७ ।
आस्थापयेत्तज्जलं पात्रे रिक्तं चाम्लेविपाचयेत् ।
तत्समाञ्चुण्डकान् क्षिप्त्वा सन्धवं तत्रयोजयेत् । ५८ ।
मेयाकचूर्णकं तत्र घान्याकस्य च पूलिकाम् ।
निक्षिप्यात्तारदेरसूदो मृतं वान्यत्रतापयेत् । ५९ ।
सुतप्ये च घृते पश्चाल्लघुनं हिङ्गुनासह ।
प्रक्षिप्य संस्कृतं मांसं तस्यां स्थाल्यां प्रवेशयेत् । ६० ।
पिहितं च ततः कुर्वीत किञ्चित् कालं प्रतीक्ष्य च ।
उत्तारयेत्ततः सिद्धं पुर्यलाक्ष्यमिदंवरम् । ६१ ।

Manas. III. 1457-61.

³ पृष्ठवंशसमुद्भूतं शुद्धं मांसं प्रगृह्यते ।
घनसारप्रमाणानि कृत्वा खण्डानि भूषकः । ६२ ।
विष्वाणु बहुशस्तानि बहुरघ्राणि कारयेत् ।
हिङ्गवाद्रकसैर्वृक्तं सन्धवेन च पेषयेत् । ६३ ।
शूलप्रोतानि कृत्वा तान्यङ्गारेषु प्रतापयेत् ।
घृतेन सिञ्चेत् पाकजो वारं वारं विवर्तयेत् । ६४ ।
सिद्धेषु मारिचं चूर्णं विकिरेत् सन्धवाग्नितम् ।

of sheep dressed into the shape of betel nuts with some blood was known as *Kṛṣṇapāka*.¹ *Vaṭakas* of pasted meat prepared with roasted and spiced meat inside were called *Bhūṣikā*. Sometimes these *Vaṭakas* were covered with grains of rice and roasted and called *Kośalī*.² Sometimes fruits such as brinjal were filled with pasted meat and fried in oil.³ Pasted meat was also formed into the shape of balls and roasted on fire or fried in oil. Liver of an animal was also cooked with some spices and called *Pañca-*

नाम्ना भडित्रकं रुच्यं लघुपथ्यं मनोहरम् । ६५।

.....
घोषयित्वाद्रवं सर्वं घृतेन परिभर्जयेत् ।

सिपेच्च मरिचं भृष्टं सूदोहृष्टभडित्रके । ६८।

Manas. III. 1462-63.

¹ पूगीफलप्रमाणानि कृत्वा खण्डानि पूर्ववत् ।

संस्कुर्यात् पूर्ववच्चूर्णैर्मलैश्च परिपाचयेत् । ७३।

स्तोकावशेषपाकेस्मिन् न्यस्तं रक्तं विनिसिपेत् ।

पूर्णे पाके समुत्तार्य घूपयेद्विज्ज्वीरकैः । ७४।

कर्पूरचूर्णकं तस्मिन् एलाचूर्णेन संयुतम् ।

विकिरेन्मरिचैर्युक्तं कृष्णपाकमिदं वरम् । ७५।

Manas. III. 1473-75.

² भज्जारभृष्टकं मांसं शुद्धे पट्टे निधापयेत् ।

कर्तार्या तिलश्चः कृत्वा मातृत्विज्जस्य केदरेः । ७६।

धार्द्रकैः केसराम्लैश्च गृज्जनंस्तत् प्रमाणिकैः ।

जीरकैर्मरिचैः पिष्टैः हिङ्गुसंभवचूर्णकैः । ७७।

मिश्रयित्वा तु तन्मांसं हिङ्गुभूपेन वासयेत् ।

ग्रामं मांसं च देवच्या हिङ्गुतोयेन सेचितम् । ७८।

.....
चूर्णकृतं च यन्मांसं गोलकैस्तद् त्रिवेष्टयेत् ।

चूर्णगभीश्च वटकान् प्रशिपेदाणके शुभ्रे । ८०।

ख्यातास्तो मांसवटका रुच्या दृढया मनोहरा ।

त एव वटकास्तैलपक्वाः स्युर्भूषिकाभिधाः । ८१।

तदेव चूर्णितं मांसं कणिकापरिवेष्टितम् ।

भज्जारेषु तथा भृष्टं कोशलीति निगच्छते । ८२।

Manas. III. 1476-1482.

³ वातकिं वृत्तदेशस्य समीपे कृत्तरुद्रकम् ।

निष्कासितेषु बीजेषु तेन मासेन पूरितम् । ८३।

तैलेन पाचितं किञ्चिदाणके परिपाचयेत् ।

पूरुभट्टाकसंज्ञं तत्स्वादुना परिपाचयेत् । ८४।

कोशातकीफलेष्वेवं मूलकस्य च कन्दके ।

पूरिते चूर्णमात्रेण तत्तन्मात्रेण तु कथ्यते । ८५।

Manas. III. 1483-1485.

varpi.¹ *Sunṭhakas* were also prepared with entrails.² The entrails of an animal filled with spices and marrow and roasted on charcoal were called *maṇḍaliya*.³ Liver chopped in the shape of betel nuts and roasted on charcoals and fried with spices was also used by dropping these pieces into a solution of black mustard or curds.⁴ Dried and roasted meat such as seasoned fish, roasted tortoises, fried crabs and a tasty meat soup, all were used as food.⁵

¹ भ्रामं मांसं तुषिष्टं तु केसरादिविमिश्रितम् ।
वटकीकृत्य तैलेन तप्तेन परिपाचयेत् । ८६ ।
भ्राणके च क्षिपेत्तत्रस्तापयेद्वा विभावसी ।
नाम्ना वट्टिमकं तप्तु विप्रकारमुदीरितम् । ८७ ।
घन्त्राणि खण्डशः कृत्वा कालखण्डं तथाकृतम् ।
वारिप्रक्षालितं कृत्वा खण्डितान् समरूपतः । ८८ ।
राजिकाकल्कदिग्धोस्तांस्तोवमिथान् विपाचयेत् ।

.....
किञ्चिच्छेषं द्रवं तत्तु समुत्तार्यं विधूपयेत् ।
पञ्चवर्णीति विख्याता नानारूपरसावहा । ८९ ।

Manas. III. 1486-1491.

² घन्त्राणि जलघीतानि शूलपट्ट्यां विवेष्टयेत् ।
तापयेच्च तथाङ्गारैर्वावत् कठिनतां ययुः । १४६२ ।
पश्चाद्विचूर्णितं श्लक्ष्णं सन्धवं तेषु योजयेत् ।
घन्त्रशुष्कमाख्यातं चयणे मर्मरारवम् । १४६३ ।

Manas. III 1492-93.

³ भेदतःश्लक्ष्णखण्डानि सिप्त्वा सर्वविलोढयेत् । ८५ ।
घन्त्रं प्रक्षालितं यत्नातो न रक्तेन पुरितम् ।
पेटकाकृति युक्ता सुकम्भासु परिवेष्टयेत् । ८६ ।
कम्भामुखानि बघ्नीयात् केवलैरग्नकैस्तथा ।
तैरेव रज्जुसङ्काशैर्न होत्वोपरि तापयेत् । ८७ ।
घङ्गारैः किशुकाकारैर्वावत् काठिन्यमाप्नुयुः ।
मण्डलीयं समाख्याता राजवृक्षफलोपमा । ८८ ।

Manas. III. 1494-1498.

⁴ घङ्गारेण तथाभूष्ट्वा कालखण्डं विकृत्य च ।
पुगीफलप्रमाणेन खण्डान् कृत्वा विचक्षणः । १४६० ।
तैलेनाभ्यञ्ज्य तान् सर्वान् परिभाजानिसन्धवं ।
चूर्णितविकिरेत् पश्चादधिगुधूपेन धूपयेत् । १३ ।
घनेन विधिना भूष्ट्वा राजिकाकल्पलेपितान् ।
कालखण्डान् प्रकुर्वीत दघ्ना राजिकयायवा । १४ ।

Manas. III. 1499-1504.

⁵ क्रोडदेशोद्भवं मांसमस्या सह विसृष्टितम् ।
घृतकीकृतसंयुक्तं पाद्वर्कुल्या समन्वितम् । ७ ।

.....
उत्पवायितमिदं सूपं ख्यातं कास्त्रविशारदः । १४६० ।
मत्स्याय च खण्डशः कृत्वा चतुरङ्गस्त सम्मितान् ।
लवणेन समाबुतान् कुम्भेषु परिपूरयेत् । १३ ।
.....

From the above account and description of the food habits of the Tāntrikas in the Yaśastilaka¹ and other contemporary works it is obvious that meat eating was common in certain sections of the society, specially, perhaps among the Kṣatriyas. But we find also large sections of society which had taken to vegetarianism partly on religious and partly perhaps also on hygienic grounds. Among such people even when an animal was to be sacrificed in a religious rite to propitiate a god it was replaced by the image of an animal made of flour.² Somadeva wonders how people who seek their own welfare hope to increase their own flesh with the flesh of others. Just as one's own life is dear to one, similarly the life of another is dear to him. One should, therefore, refrain from destroying animal life.³ According to him animals must not be killed for the purpose of worshipping gods or the manes, for entertaining one's guests, in any mystic rite or for medicinal purposes.⁴ Similar ideas are expressed by another Jain writer Amitagati who considers taking poison better than meat eating.⁵ Even some of the Purāṇas of this period lay down that slaughter of animals is not necessary for sacrifices

भोजनावसरे सूदो वह्निना परिभर्जयेत् । ३४।

कच्छान् वह्निना भृष्ट्वा पादाश्छत्काश्च भोजयेत् । ३७।

अम्लकंश्च विपक्ष्याश्च तैलेन क्राज्येन वा पुनः ।

पाचयेच्च मुसिद्धास्तान् चूर्णकैरवचूर्णयेत् । ३८।

Manas. III. 1507-1539.

Also see Manas. III. 1540-1542.

¹ Description of the temple of Caṇḍamārī known as Mahābhairava in Book I.

² Samarajoca Kahā, pp. 210-213.

Yaśastilaka Book IV. *Candramati* persuades Yaśodharā to sacrifice a cock made out of flour.

³ तत् स्वस्य हितमिच्छन्तोमुञ्चन्तश्चाहितं मुहुः ।

अन्यमांसैः स्वमांसस्य कथं ब्रूदिविधायिनः ।

स्वकीयं जीवितं यद्वत् सर्वस्य प्राणिनः प्रियम् ।

तद्वदेतत्परस्यापि ततो हितापरित्यजेत् ।

Yaśastilaka. p. 330.

⁴ देवतार्यं पित्रर्थं मन्त्रीपथमयाय वा ।

न हिंसात् प्राणिनां सर्वानहिंसाताम तद्वदम् ।

Yaśastilaka p. 335.

⁵ वरविषंभक्षितमुद्यदोषं यदेकवारं कृतेऽमुनाशम् ।

मांसं महादुःखमनेकवारम् ददाति जग्धम् मनसापि पुंसाम् ।

Subhāṣita Sandoha 21.16.

in the Kali age.¹ They prescribe the use of *māṣa* beans instead of meat preparations.² On the authority of Al Masudi we can say that the Brāhmanas generally avoided meat diet. Al. Idrisi states that the people of Anhilwārā ate rice, pea beans, *māṣa*, *masūra*, and fish and animals which had died a natural death because they did not kill birds and animals.³ Rājasekhara mentions eating of pork among the practices of uncultured people.⁴ It is stated that king Kumārapāla prohibited slaughter of animals under severe penalties and he himself built Tribhuvanvihāra and thirty-two other temples for expiation of the sin of flesh eating to which he was addicted before his conversion to Jainism.⁵

HONEY AND SWEETS

Honey was not so widely used as in the previous period. The Purāṇas mention *gūḍa* (treacle) and raw sugar (*sarkarā*) and not honey among the sweet things.⁶ The Jains avoided the

परमारितजीवानां पिशितं योपि खादति ।
इहामृतं च दुःखानां पठतेः सोऽपि भाजनम् ।
यैश्चिदंशमनुबुद्धैव भक्ष्यते स्वर्गकाम्यया ।
कालकूटं विषमूनमद्युस्ते जीवितार्थिनः ।

Upamitibhava-prapañca kathā, p. 627.

¹ नदद्यादामिषं श्राद्धे न चाद्यादमंतत्त्ववित् ।
मुन्यन्नैः स्यात्पराप्रीतिर्यथा न पशुहितया ।

Bhāgavata Pu. VII. 15.7.

² भूतो मावाप्तमेवंतन्मांसायै ब्रह्मणाकृतम् ।
पितरस्तेनतृप्यन्ति श्राद्धं कुर्वन् न तद्विना ।
यथा बलिष्ठं मांसं त्वान्मांसाद्यन्नमपि तत्समम् ।
सौगन्धिकं च स्वादिष्टं मधुरं द्रव्यं भवेदतः ।

Prajāpati Sm. 152-53.

³ History of Medieval India Book 2, p. 192.

⁴ इशुदण्डस्य मण्डस्य दहनः पिष्टकृतस्य च ।
वाराहस्य च मांसस्य सैष गच्छति फाल्गुनः ।

Kāvya-mīmāṃsā VIII. p. 39.

⁵ एवं रायणाकाराविदंति ह्यमणिविहारसिद्धेर्ल ।

Moharājaparājaya IV. p. 93.

⁶ मृतश्च पञ्चमाहूर्ध्वमवतः सन्नतोऽपि वा ।
पायसेन गुडेनापि पिण्डान् दद्याद् दशक्रमात् ।

Garuḍa Pu. 10.96.

गुडाद्यं शान्तिमाप्नोति क्षीरेण च तथायुतम् ।
पद्मरागसमं वर्णं चांशुमत्याः प्रजायते ।

Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. II. 63.8.

C.f. Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. II. 314. 11-12.

गुडशर्करास्य षड्व्यो देवं फाणितमुर्मुरम् ।

गव्यं पयो दधि घृतं तैलञ्च तिलसंभवम् ।

Brahma Purāṇa.

use of honey on the ground that it was pressed out of the young eggs in the womb of bees and resembled the embryo in the first stage of its growth.¹ The *Paṇḍra* variety of sugarcane was grown near Rājagṛha.² Sugar is also mentioned as an important article of food in the Ambaśamudra Inscription of Varaguna Pāṇḍya (ninth century A.D.) In the Naisadha Carita the whiteness of sugar has been compared to a stream of snow.³

The act of preparing sweets is considered an art⁴ and many new sweets are mentioned. *Kāsāra* was a preparation of wheat flour, milk, clarified butter, crystal sugar, cardamom and black pepper.⁵ A preparation of wheat flour stuffed with *kāsāra* was called *udumbara*.⁶ A sweet preparation of wheat flour, *gṛḍa* and some spices such as black pepper and cardamom was called *murmura*.⁷ *Modakas* prepared with rice flour, sugar and some aromatic spices such as cardamom and camphor were called *Varṣopalagolakas* because they looked like hailstones.⁸ Some-

¹ मलिकागमसंभूतबालाण्डविनिर्दिष्टतात् ।

जातं मधुकचंसन्तःसेवन्ते कललाकृतिः ।

Yasastilaka p. 331.

² Raviṣeṇa—Jaina Padma Purāṇa Ch. II.

³ धनीनिराकण्ठमन्नोजि तद्गृहे तुयारधारा मुदितेवशर्करा ।

Naisadha XVI. 93.

⁴ Śukranīti. IV. 3. 143.

⁵ ता कीर ऊण कसारतात्पुङ्ख संजुयविसमोयणं गोसे उवणेमियाणम् ।

Samasaicca. p. 187.

सुसंमिषो कासारो ।

Samasaicca. p. 189.

कसारं सुसारं गुहाली मणुज्जा ।

Bhavisayatta XII. 3.

गोधूमचूर्णादुद्धृत्य शूर्पणाम्याहतान् कणान् । ८६ ।

दुग्धाक्तान् घृतपक्वांश्च सितया च विमिश्रितान् ।

एसामरिचचूर्णेन युक्तान् कासारसंशितान् ।

Manas. III. 1386-87.

⁶ गोलकेन समावेष्ट्य तैलेनोद्बुम्बरान् पचेत् ।

Manas. III. 1388.

⁷ गुडमरिचैलामिश्रो गोधूमस्फूलचूर्णाधिकारः मुर्मुरः ।

Commentary Brahma Pu.

⁸ शोषितायां सितायां तु क्षीरं संमिश्रयेत् समम् । ११ ।

सरपाकावधियायत् ताक्वाययेत् पुनः ।

उत्तार्य नागरं तीक्ष्णमैलाकर्पूरकेशरैः । १६ ।

निक्षिप्य गोलकाः कार्या नाम्ना वर्षोलकास्तु ते ।

Manas. III. 1415-17.

times dolls were also made with sugar (*Sarkari putrikā*).¹ *Ghṛta-pūra*, *Phenakas*, *Khajjakas* and *Laddukas* continued to be popular.² Sometimes they were also prepared with rice or *mudga* pulse.³ In the preparation of *Kṣīraprakāra* sour curds were mixed with boiled milk and the solid part of curds was separated from the liquid one. The solid curds were mixed with rice flour and sweets were prepared in different shapes. Possibly they were same as modern *Camcams* and *rasagullās*.⁴ Another sweet prepared with milk was called *Kṣīrayaṣṭikā*.⁵

SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

All the spices mentioned earlier were used for seasoning.⁶ It seems a good lunch always consisted of some condiments (*avadamśa*).⁷ *Vyañjana* is used in the sense of a special prepara-

प्रविवर्धोपलगोलकावली।

Naisadha. XVI. 100.

एलाकर्णूरशर्करालवङ्गतण्डुलपिष्टरचितानां गोलकानामतिवृत्तानां लङ्घुकविशेषाणाम्।

Commentary on the above.

¹ Naisadha XV. 104.

² वेउरानिवचद्रुतरियं लङ्घ्यान्नाज्जाय।
सुहृदाय मन्त्रिसोयवट्टिं फिणीप्रोमडिया।

Vilāsavati.

Kathākośa Prakaraṇa—Śālibhadra p. 58.

गुणाधारिणालङ्घ्या सौरखज्जा।

Bhavisayatta. XII. 3.

Kathākośa Prakaraṇa—Śālibhadra p. 58.

मोयणभुंजाविउसुहचारिहि छडरसलङ्घुसलङ्घपदारिहि।

Bhavisayatta. V. 11.

Naisadha XVI. 103.

³ पायसं क्षालिमुद्गादयं मोदकादीश्च भक्षितः।

पूरिकाश्च रसालाएव गोक्षीरञ्च नियोजयेत्।

Brahma Pu.

⁴ दुग्धमुत्सवाध्य तन्मध्ये तन्ममलं निनिक्षिपेत्। ८।

हिरवा तोयं घनीभूतं वस्त्रबद्धं पृथक्कुलम्।

क्षालितप्लवलिप्टेन मिश्रितम् परिपेषितम्। ९।

नानाकारैः सुषटितं सपिपा परिपाचितम्।

पक्वशर्करया सिक्तमेलाचूर्णेन वासितम्।

क्षीरप्रकारानामेदं भक्ष्यं मृष्यं मनोहरम्।

Manas III. 1408-1411.

⁵ Agni Purāṇa. Ch. 164.

⁶ कंकोलकैलामरिचायुतानाम् जातीतरुणां च स जन्मभूमिः।

Kav. Mim. p. 224.

C.f. Manas. XIII. 1442-50.

⁷ मध्वपि नानवदंशं स्वदते।

Kavy. mim. x. 134.

tion in the *Mānasollāsa* in which water used for washing rice was mixed with tamarind, butter milk, crystal sugar, powder of cardamom and juice of ginger. It was used after fumigation with asafoetida.¹ In preparing *Praleba*, curds, and juices of fruits such as tamarind, pomegranates, myrobalan, citron or *amlavetasa* were used. Some fragrant spices such as coriander, asafoetida, cumin, turmeric, ginger, pepper and salt were mixed with the fruit juices. The mixture was cooked on a slow fire with some oil.² A special variety of *praleba* was prepared with *sūraṇa*, ginger, butter milk and oil.³ Sour gruel was sometimes used after fumigation.⁴ It appears that some pickles were also used.⁵

OILS

Mustard oil⁶ and sesamum oil⁷ were more commonly used for frying and cooking food articles than in the previous period. Even in a *Srāddha* the use of sesamum oil is permitted.⁸ The

¹ तण्डुलक्षालितं तोयं चिञ्चाम्लेन विमिश्रितम् ।
ईक्षतकेण संयुक्तं सितया सह योजितम् ।
एलाचूर्णसमायुक्तमाद्रकस्य रसेन च ।
धूपितं हिङ्गुना सम्यक् व्यञ्जनं परिकीर्तितम् ।

Manas. III. 1578-79.

² दध्ना विमिश्रयेच्चिञ्चा किंवा दाडिमसारकम् ।
अथवानलकपिष्टं भेलयेद् वाम्लवेतसम् । ४२ ।
रसं वा मातुलिङ्गस्य रसं दन्तशठस्य च ।
मिश्रयेद् वा रसानेतान् द्वित्रानपि यथाश्चि । ४३ ।
गन्धार्थं घान्नकं हिङ्गुजीरकं च निक्षिपेत् ।
हरिद्रो चैव वर्णार्थं सुसूक्ष्मं च तयाद्रकम् । ४४ ।
रुच्यर्थं विश्वमरिचं सन्धवं च विनिक्षिपेत् ।
गालयेत् सितवस्त्रेण किञ्चित् तैलं विमिश्रयेत् । ४५ ।
मूदःस्थाल्यां विनिक्षिप्य दधीघट्टनपूर्वकम् ।
प्रलेहकं मूदावग्रीपचेत् पाकविशारदः ।

Manas. III. 1442-46.

³ Naisadha XVI. 86.

⁴ तीवीरं निर्मलं साम्लं लवणेन च संयुतम् ।
हिङ्गुना जीरकेणापि धूपितं धूपकान्जिकम् ।

Manas. III. 1588.

⁵ संधानं पानकं घान्यं पुष्पं मूलं फलं दलम् ।
जीवयोनि न संग्राह्यं यच्च जीवैरपद्रुतम् ।

Yasastilaka. p. 335.

⁶ Sukraniti. IV. 7. 159-66.

⁷ Sukraniti. IV. 107-108, 110-112.

⁸ गृहशर्करमत्स्यप्लवो देयं फणितमूर्मु ।
गव्यंपवोदधि धृततैलञ्चतिलं संनवम् ।

Brahma Purāṇa.

poor people in the south used linseed oil.

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

The common fruits in use were oranges, grapes, dates, cocoanuts, pomegranates, *karamarda*, mango, *lakuca*, banana, bread fruits and *kapittba*.¹ Many beverages were prepared from fruit juices.² The Jains avoided five kinds of fruits such as *udumbara*, *atvattba*, *plakṣa* and *nyagrodha* which are the breeding ground of various living organisms, visible and invisible.³

Fruits, leaves, roots, tubers, flowers and legumes of many plants were used as vegetables.⁴ *Pāṭhā*, *śāśā*, *śafī*, *vāstuka* and *sunīṣaṇṇaka* were the common pot herbs.⁵ Other vegetables in common use as before, were bottle gourd, cucumber, radish, brinjal and onions.⁶ Mustard stalks were generally eaten in winter.⁷ Somadeva praises a number of vegetables including

¹ Pauma-carīṭ III, Karpūramajjari pp. 255, 263, Sandeśarāsaka 56, Kāvya-mīmāṃsā XVIII. p. 103, 106, Sukraniti, Naiṣadha XVI. 95, Amba Samudra Inscription of Varaguna Pandya, Bhavisayatta Kahā II. 3, XII. 3.

² See Chapter VII. F.D.A.I. p. 225.

³ मद्यमांसं मधुत्वागाः सहोदुम्बरपञ्चकाः ।

मृदावेते गृहस्थानामुक्तामूलगुणाः श्रुते । पृ० ३२७।

अरत्त्वोदुम्बरपक्ष न्यग्रोधादि फलेष्वपि ।

प्रत्यक्षाः प्राणिनः रघूलाः सूक्ष्माश्चागमगोचराः । पृ० ३३०।

Yasastilaka pp. 327 and 330.

⁴ फलशाकं पत्रशाकं कन्दशाकं च मूलकम् ।

पुष्पशाकं शिम्बिशाकं पत्रापपवविभेदतः ।

Manas. III. 1548.

⁵ पाठासूवासटीशाकं वास्तुकं मुनिषण्णकम् ।

विवरघण्णमवसंसिवर्चो भेदि तु वास्तुकम् ।

मण्डूकपर्णी पालङ्क्याचिल्लिकापाप्यपोश्का ।

चाङ्गरी हिलमोषा च कलम्बीशाकजातयः ।

Kaśirasvāmī on Amar. 165.

⁶ Manas. III. 1555-64.

अर्धरदासाबूफसफालिप्रकारम्, ईषत्स्विन्न कर्कारु.....अवालमालूरमूलक...
.....अभृष्टचिमेंटिका....., प्रपक्वार्काग्निदम नरङ्गिणीफल.....अगस्ति-
चूताम्रतक पिचुगन्द कन्दल.....वृहती वार्तिक फल सोमाञ्जन कन्द सानन.....
एण्ड फलपलाण्डुमुण्डिकाम्बरम् उच्छ्रुनोद्वितित बल्ल करालकको कुन्दोद्भमरम् अनल्प-
राजिका वर्जितान्तिसोमावसानम्.....।

Yasastilaka Book III, p. 404
(959 A.D.)

⁷ बराहवध्राणिनबोदनानि दधीनि सप्रदक्षराणि चान ।

सुकोमलाः सर्वपकन्दलीश्च भुक्त्वा नर्तानिन्दतिवैद्यविद्याम् ।

Kav. Mīm. p. 245.

slices of fresh ginger.¹ According to Kalhana some people avoided the use of onions and garlic because cut onions resembled flesh and eating garlic was a foreign innovation.² Some vegetables such as *cirbhita* were cut into pieces dried and fried in oil or ghee to be taken as dainties.³

The vegetable preparations of the south are mentioned in the Ambasamudra Inscription of Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya. *Kaykkari* was prepared with some vegetables and spices such as pepper, mustard and salt. *Puluggari* was a preparation of horsegram and plantain fruit. Boiled curry (*pulukkukkar*), fried curry (*poikkari*) and a liquid preparation consisting of a vegetable cooked with Bengal gram or beans were generally eaten in the south.

INTOXICATING DRINKS

It appears that the habit of drinking was found among a considerable section of Indian society in this period. Even some Brāhmaṇa youths wasted their time in the company of dancing girls who were addicted to drinking.⁴ The sons of Haris-chandra by a Kṣatriya wife are called *madhupāyina* (addicted to drinking).⁵ Some women are described as intoxicated with

¹ बालं वृत्ताकं कोहलं कारबेल्लं बिल्ली जीवन्ती वास्तुलस्तण्डुलीयः।

सद्यः संभृष्टाः पयंटाश्चिभंटाः किस्वलोकैश्चेत्फालयस्वाद्रकस्य।

Yasastilaka III. 356.

² Stein-Rājatarāṅgiṇī Book I, p. 342.

³ *Kaccarā or kaccari*

पुणोक्ञ्वरा णपदा दिन्नमेया

अयं तानं कोवन्नरा दिन्नमेया।

Bhavi. XII. 3.

तिडिअं कञ्वरं अंबअंबोइया

दिन्नतुंडीरिया संड संजोइया।

Vilāsavati.

⁴ क्वपुरोडाशपवित्रितवेदपदोद्गारगर्भवदनंते।

क्वच मदिरासववासितवारयधूमुखरसास्वादः।

Kuṭṭanīmatam. 414.

⁵ तेन श्री हरिश्चन्द्रेण परिणीता द्विजामजा।

द्वितीयान्नया भद्रा महाकुल गुणान्विता।

प्रतिहारा द्विजभूता ब्राह्मण्यां ये भवन्मुतः।

राज्ञी भद्राच यान् सूते ते भूता नक्षपायिनः।

Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihara Bauka (V.S. 894) verses No. 7-8
E.I. Vol. XVIII. p. 95.

C.f. Vanarāja was much addicted to drinking.

वनराजस्याहं बहुमतोभूवमित्युपस्थितममुना।

इयंघवलहरे सुचिरं जावुक्कड रायलात्तिमो।

Moharājapārājaya IV. 47.

drinking.¹ Women liked the *vātṛṇī* variety of wine.² Drinking wine after partaking of pepper and betel leaves was, according to Rājasekhara, the general practice among the ladies of the south.³ Somadeva gives an interesting account of a drinking place in his Kathāsarisāgara.⁴ In the Sukranītisāra distillation of wine is regarded as an art and moderate use of wine is recommended.⁵ On the occasion of marriage feasts drinking was common especially among Kṣatriyas.⁶ Medhātithi also says that while Brāhmaṇa women did not drink wine at festivals, Kṣatriya and other women, to whom drinking was not forbidden, indulged in excessive drinking on festive occasions.⁷ Courtezans and Tāntrikas were, no doubt, addicted to drinking.⁸

There were, as before, four important sources from which intoxicating liquors were prepared treacle, cereals, *madhūka* flowers and some fruits.⁹ But the most common varieties in use were

¹ मदिराणामस्तवनिता । The description of Rājagṛha in the Jaina Padma Purāṇa Ch. II by Raviṣeṇa (834 V.S.).

² कान्तोष्णिष्टा वारुणी वारिमिक्षाः ।

Karpūra Mañjarī, p. 256.

³ पिबन्त्यास्वाद्य मरिचं ताम्बूलविशदं मुलैः ।

त्रियाषरावदंशानि मधूनि द्रमिलाङ्गनाः ।

Kav. Mim. VII. p. 39.

सप्तञ्चमत्तरङ्गिणोत्तवणसीमला वेणुणो ।

समं सिसिर वारिणा वज्रण सीमला वारुणी ।

Karpūramañjarī IV. 6.

⁴ आपानभूमिः सज्जयेत् तदनामम्यतानिति । १२४ ।

विचित्ररत्नचषकप्रफुल्लविविधाम्बुजाम्

विकीर्णनिककुसुमामुद्यानं नलिनीमिव । १२५ ।

व्याप्ता मत्तासवापूर्णा कलसीभिः पुरन्धिभिः ।

तन्वन्तीभिः सुधाहृतं बाहूत्पन्नामृतप्रभम् ।

Kathāsarisāgara VIII. 110.

⁵ मति मद्यं हि पिबतो बुद्धिलोपो भवेत् किल ।

प्रतिभां बुद्धिवेशं धैर्यं चित्तविनिश्चयम् ।

तनोति मानसा पीतं मद्यमन्यद् विनाशकृत् ।

Sukranīti. I. 113-116.

C.f. Sukranīti IV. 3. 141.

⁶ Naiṣadha XVI. 99.

⁷ Medhātithi on Manu. IX. 84.

⁸ Courtezans—Kumārāpāla Carita, IV. 10-21.

Tāntrikas—मज्जं पिबामो महिलंरमामो ।

मज्जं मत्संपिज्जए खज्जए च ।

Karpūramañjarī pp. 22-23.

⁹ गीरी पेंटी च माध्वी च फलोत्पा सुय स्मृता ।

Kṣīrasvāmi on Amar. Bhumi Sūdra 43.

those prepared from bread fruit, grapes, dates, palmyra, *madhūka* flowers, sugarcane, honey, cocoanut, cereals, *saira*, *vāruṇī*, *maiteya* and *ariṣṭa*.¹

Evil effects of drinking were well known. Sukranīti condemns excessive drinking and lays down that one should not visit liquor houses nor should he sell liquor.² Somadeva condemns drinking by saying that drunkards are generally liars. Drinking is the root of all evils since it completely deludes the mind and is, therefore, the greatest of all sins. He cites the example of *Yādavas* who were ruined on account of drinking and says that drunkards are transformed into wine to delude the minds of men after a long succession of births and rebirths.³ From Alberuni's account it appears that a section of people belonging to higher castes abstained from drinking.⁴ Most of the Dharmaśāstras of this period also condemn drinking by the three higher castes.⁵ According to Alberuni drinking was common among the *Sūdras*.⁶

¹ Pulastya quoted in *Mitākṣarā* on Yaj.

² Sukranīti. I. 115-116. See F.D.A.I. p. 222, f. n. 5.
C.f. Sukranīti. III. 63-64 and 242.

मांसादिषु दद्या नास्ति न सत्त्वं मद्यपायिषु ।

³ सर्वदोषादयो मद्यान्महामोहकृतेमते ।
सर्वेषां पातकानाञ्च पुरःसरतया स्थितम् ।
हिताहितविमोहेन देहितः किं न पातकम् ।
कुर्युः संसारकान्ता परिभ्रमणकारणम् ।

Yāśastilaka. p. 327.

मद्येन यादवा नष्टा नष्टा द्यूतेन पाण्डवाः ।
इति सर्वत्रलोकेऽस्मिन् सुप्रसिद्धं कथानकम् ।
समुत्पद्य विपद्येह देहिनाञ्जनेकाः किल ।
मद्योभवति कालेन मनोमोहाय देहिनाम् ।
मद्यं कबिन्दुसंपन्नाः प्राणिनः प्रचरन्ति चेत् ।
पूरयेयुर्न सदेहं समस्तमपि विष्टपम् ।

Yāśastilaka. p. 330.

C.f. *Subhāṣita Sandoha* Ch. 31.

⁴ Alberuni Ch. 68.

⁵ अदेयं वाप्यपेयं च तर्षबास्पृश्यमेव च ।
द्विजातीनामनालोक्यं नित्यं मद्यमिति स्थितिः । ४३ ।
तस्मात् सर्वं प्रयत्नेन मद्यं नित्यं विवर्जयेत् ।

Padma Pu. Adī 56, 43-44.

⁶ Alberuni Ch. 68.

WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Somadeva lays emphasis on the proper use of water. Water is called both nectar and poison; properly used it is like nectar and used without proper care it acts like a poison.¹ Transparent water, without any taste and smell, and swept by wind and sunshine is beneficial. In all other cases water should be boiled before drinking. Water exposed to the rays of the sun and the moon should not be used longer than a day and a night, water boiled in day time should not be taken at night, and water boiled at night should not be taken in the day time.² The *Mānasollāsa* mentions all the sources of water mentioned earlier and calls water inside a cocoanut fruit *Vārkeṣa* water.³ It recommends the use of water purified with spices, such as cloves and camphor and fumigated with a piece of clay baked in fire of *khadira* wood.⁴ Sometimes flowers such as *pāṭala*, *utpala* and *campaka* were used to make drinking water fragrant.⁵ Someśvara recommends the use of rain water in the autumn season, of river water in the *Hemanta*, water of tanks in the *Sisira*, of the pools in the spring, of a spring in summer and of wells in the rainy season. But *Harisodaka* is recommended for all seasons.⁶ Sometimes water was stored in golden jars and cooled

¹ *Yasastilaka* II. 368.

² *Yasastilaka* III. 370-371.

³ दिव्यान्तरिक्षं नावेयं नैर्भरम् सारसं जलम् ।
भीमं बीण्डं च ताडाकमीन्द्रिदं नवम् स्मृतम् ।

Manas. III. 1605.

दशमं केचिदिच्छन्ति वासंजीवनमुत्तमम् ।
नारिकेलसमुद्भूतं स्वादु बुध्यं मनोहरम् ।

Manas. III. 1615.

⁴ कणामुस्तकं संयुक्तमेलोशीरकं चन्दनैः ।
मदितं मृत्तिकापिण्डं खदिराङ्गारपाचितम् । १६ ।
निक्षिपेन् निर्मले तोये सर्वदोषहरे शुभे ।
कथितः पिण्डवाप्तोऽयं सलिलेषु विवक्षणेः ।

Manas. III. 1619-20.

⁵ लवङ्गोशीरकर्पूरकान्तानलचन्दनैः ।
सलिलामयकङ्कालपथ्याकर्चुरसंयुतैः ।
विचूर्णितैः समैरेभिः सुशीतामलवारिणा ।
चूर्णाधिवासिनः प्राह ।

Manas. III. 1622-24.

⁶ दिव्यं शरदि पानीयं हेमन्ते सरिदुद्भवम् ।
शिशिरे वारि ताडागं वसन्ते सारसं पयः ।
निदाघे नैर्भरं तोयं भीमं प्राचुषि पीयते ।
हृत्तोदकं सदा पथ्यं वाष्पं पेयं यथारुचि ।

Manas. III. 1627.

with drafts of air after fumigating it with the fire of aloe wood. It was considered very tasteful.¹

Some beverages and syrups were also in use.² Preparation of a special beverage is described in the *Mānasollāsa*. It was prepared by mixing some acid fruit juice with boiled milk. Then the liquid part was separated from the solid part. In the strained liquid sugar and powder of cardamom were mixed. The mixture was strained in a piece of cloth again and again till it became quite pure. Roasted tamarind fruit with the juice of some other fruits was mixed with this strained liquid. Similarly syrups were also prepared with other sour fruits.³

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The account of the marriage feast of Damayanti shows a very high stage of development in the art of cooking. The guests at the feast could not distinguish the vegetarian dishes from the non-vegetarian ones. The combination and method of preparation of various ingredients was so excellent that the products of one season were mistaken for those of another.⁴

Somadeva in his *Yasastilaka* refers to some fine vegetarian

Water exposed to the rays of the sun in the daytime and to those of the moon at night was called *Hamsodaka*.

¹ मकारि नीहारनिभं प्रमञ्जनावधूपि यच्चागुक्षारदारुभिः।

निषीय भृङ्गारक सङ्गि तत्र तैरवशि बारि प्रतिवारमीदृशम्।

Naiṣadha. XVI. 89.

² See F.D.A.I. p. 219, f. n. 5.

Yasastilaka. p. 335.

C.f. *Viṣṇudharmottara* Pu. II. 63.12.

³ शङ्कुद्वयं समास्थाप्य बध्नीयादुज्ज्वलाम्बरम्।

प्रसार्य यष्टिभिः किञ्चित् दीरमम्लेन भेदितम्।८१।

सितया च समायुक्तमेलाचूर्णविमिश्रितम्।

क्षिपेत् प्रसारिते वस्त्रे स्नाबयेत् पेययेत् समम्।८२।

पुनः पुनः क्षिपेत् तत्र बावर्णिर्मलतां व्रजेत्।

पञ्चविञ्चाफलं भृष्टं वर्णाय तत्र निक्षिपेत्।८३।

यस्य कस्य फलस्यापि रसेन परिमिश्रयेत्।

तत्तन्नाम समाख्यातं पानकं पेयमुत्तमम्।८४।

Manas. III. 1581-84.

⁴ ययामिमे जग्मुनामिदमन्नं निरामिमे ययामिपमोहमूहिरे।

तथा विदग्धैः परिकर्मं निमित्तम् विचित्रमेते परिहस्य भोजिताः।

Naiṣadha XVI. 81.

अनेकसंयोजनया तथाकृते निरुत्थ निष्पिष्य च तादृगर्जनात्।

अमीकृताकालिकावस्तुविस्मयं जना बहुव्यञ्जनगम्यवाहरन्।

Naiṣadha. XVI. 83.

dishes,¹ while the Mānasollāsa describes in detail some delicious meat preparations and dismisses the vegetarian dishes in one verse.² The Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa lays down that food articles should be cooked on a slow fire.³ Somadeva mentions that food articles are cooked well in a vessel that is covered and stirred.⁴

Many cooking utensils and implements are mentioned.⁵ The royal families used utensils made of precious stones, gold or silver.⁶ It was believed that food preparations served in earthen vessels tasted well but generally a king was to be served in a golden dish and golden cups.⁷ The rules about cleaning the utensils were the same as in the earlier period.⁸

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

As in the earlier period the householder was expected to make food offerings to gods, forefathers, guests and dependants before he himself took his meals. He was not to eat anything

¹ Yaśastilaka, Book III.

² कल्पयेद् विविधैः शाकैर्मंसैवत् पाककोविदः ।
वटकान् पर्वटान् हृद्यान् अङ्गारैः परिमज्जयेत् ।

Manas. III. 1549.

³ नात्यर्धदीप्तेन हुताशनेन नात्यन्तमन्वेन च साध्यमन्नम् ।

रत्नं न चाप्यत्र भवेत् प्रभूतं नात्यल्पमेतत्कथितं मया ते ।

Viṣṇu Dh. Pu. II. 63 113.

⁴ Yaśastilaka III. 322.

⁵ Manas. III, ch. 13, Naiṣadha. XVI., Bhavisaṃyatta. VI. 16.

⁶ हरिर्मणैर्भोजनं राजनेर्जपिते गताः प्रकोपं किल वारवातिकाः ।

Naiṣadha. XVI. 66.

⁷ Manas. III. 1585.

⁸ तंजसानामुच्छिष्टानां गोशृङ्गान्मृद्भस्मभिः । परिमार्जनमन्यतमेन वा । ३४ । ताम्र-
रजतसुवर्णानामम्भैः । ३५ । अम्रवाणां दहनं । ३६ । वारवाणां तक्षणम् । ३७ । वैणवायानां गोम-
येन । ३८ । फलमयानां गोबालरज्ज्वा । ३९ । कृष्णाजिनानां बिल्वतण्डलैः । ४० ।

Baudhayana Sm. I. 5, 34-40.

मृण्मयं भाजनं सर्वं पुनः पाकेन शुध्यति ।

मर्म्ममूर्त्रैः पुरीषैश्च पृथिवीं पूजयिष्यति । १ ।

संस्पृष्टं नैव शुध्येत पुनः पाकेन मृण्मयम् ।

एतरेव तथा स्पृष्टं ताम्रसौवर्णराजतम् । २ ।

शुध्यत्यावर्तितं पश्चादन्यथा केवलान्भसा ।

अम्लोदकेन ताम्रस्य सीसस्य त्रपुषस्तथा ।

क्षारेण शुद्धिः कांसस्य लोहस्य च विनिर्दिशेत् । ४ ।

अञ्जनानां चैव भाण्डानां सर्वस्याश्ममयस्य च ।

Sankha. Sm. XVI. 1-5.

which he did not offer to the gods, manes, and guests.¹ A Brāhmaṇa was expected to feed guests even if they belonged to Vaiśya or Sudra castes.² He was also to set apart some food for low creatures.³

In this period much more emphasis on the purity of food seems to have been laid than in the previous period. Severe penances are prescribed for eating impure food⁴ and food offered by those whose food should not be accepted. Some new additions have been made to the list such as food offered by a person who has renounced the world without proper ceremony.⁵

¹ देव पित्रतिथिर्योन्नमदत्त्वा नादनीयात् क्वचित्
प्राप्तमार्थं यः पचन्मोहाभ्रकार्थं, स जीवति ।

Sukra III. 134.

C.f. Viṣṇu Dharmottara Pu. Ch. 233, 118-126 Baudhāyana Sm. II. 7.270
कालेऽजस्रं क्षुधमवहितो दिक्षमानो विधुष्य ।
नो भोक्तव्यं प्रथममतिथेर्यः सदा तिष्ठतीति ।
तस्यावपि गतमलं पुन्यराशिं ययन्तम् ।
तं दातारं जिनपतिमते भुक्ष्यमाहुर्जिनेन्द्राः ।

Subhāṣita Sandoha (994 A.D.)

विषसाक्षीमवेभिरथ चामृतभोजनः ।
यज्ञशेषोऽमृतं भुक्तशेषं तु विषसं विदुः ।

Skanda Pu. Kāṇ 41 22.

² वैश्यशूद्रावपि प्राप्ता कुटुम्बेऽतिथिधर्मणौ ।
भोजयेत् सहमूर्खैस्तानाशुंस्वं प्रयोजयेत् ।

Viṣṇu Dharmottara Pu. 233.31.

³ प्रकृत्वा वैश्यदेवंतु ये भुञ्जन्त्यधामिकाः ।

वृथा तेनाग्नपाकेन काकयोनिं व्रजन्ति ते ।

Laghu Śatātapa Sm. 52.

C.f. Vṛddha Hārīta Sm. 281, Veda Vyasa Sm. III. 40-49.

⁴ Āṅgiras. Sm. 88.

मत्तकृद्वातुराणां न च भुञ्जीत कदाचन ।

⁵ महापातकिना स्पृष्टम् यज्ज्वल्यस्पृष्टमुदकवया ।

गवाक्षं गणिकाक्षं च वार्युषेर्गव्यकस्य च ।

अभिरास्तपण्डस्य यस्यास्त्रोपपत्तिर्गृहे ।

रजकस्य नृशंसस्य वन्दिनः कितवस्य च ।

मिथ्याप्रव्रजितस्यात्र पुंसवत्यास्तैलिकस्य च ।

चण्डालशवपचात्रं तु भुत्वा चाग्रायणं चरेत् ।

अनिर्दशं च प्रेताक्षं गवाघ्रातं तथैव च ।

प्राश्यमूत्रपुरीषाणि द्विजश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ।

शुष्काणि जग्ध्वा मांसानि प्रेताक्षं कवकानि च ।

क्रव्यादशूकरोष्णाणां गोमायोः कपिककयोः ।

दीनरावक्षरोष्णाणां छात्राक्षं ग्रामकुक्कुटम् ।

मांसं जग्ध्वा कुञ्जरस्य तप्तकृच्छ्रेण शुष्यति ।

Agni. Pu. Ch. 168.

C.f. Padma Pu. Adi. Ch. 56. 1-17, 26, Viṣṇu. Dh. Pu. III. 230 5-7,
Vṛddha Hārīta. Sm. 267-68.

As before stale food was forbidden except food articles cooked in clarified butter, and preparations of rice and milk.¹ Generally, the Dharmasāstras of this period do not allow the people of three higher castes to take food or drinks offered by a Sūdra² but they were permitted to accept milk rice, food articles cooked in clarified butter, milk, groats, oil cake and oil.³ It was considered improper to take the leavings of food of some other person but if a Brāhmaṇa, now and then, took his food with his wife it was not considered a sin. Āpastamba also permits a person to eat the leavings of his father or elder brother.⁴ Somadeva forbids eating and drinking in the house of those who take wine, meat and honey and even the use of utensils belonging to them. He states that a person should avoid water brought in water-skins, oil kept in leather flasks, and women who are not in a fit state for vows.⁵ The practices of bathing before taking meals, two persons not eating from the same dish and throwing leaves and earthenware once used for eating as now, were observed

¹ भोज्यमन्नं पर्युषितं स्नेहाक्तं चिरसंभृतम् ।

अस्नेहा ब्रीहयः स्लक्षणा विकाराः पयसस्तथा ।

Vamana Pu. XIV. 39.

Visnu. Dh. Pu. III. 228, 8, Laghvāśvālāyana Sm. 170, Yaśastilaka III.

344.

² Angiras Smṛti. 67, Abu. Sam. 174-178, Ap. Sm. III. 3.

³ पायसं स्नेहपक्वं गोरसर्षपं सन्तवः । १८ ।

पिण्याकंचैव तैलं च शूद्राद् ब्राह्मं द्विजातिभिः । १९ ।

Padma Pu. Adi. 56 18-19.

ग्राममांसं मधुपुतम् घाना क्षीरं तथैव च ।

गुदस्तक्रं रसाग्राह्या निबृत्तेनापि शूद्रतः ।

शाकं मांसं मृणाशानि पुम्बुरुः सन्तवस्तिताः ।

रसाः फलानि पिण्याकं प्रतिग्राह्याणि सर्वतः ।

Ap. Sm. VIII.

C.f. Prajapati. Sm. 130, Laghu. Sankha. Sm. 67.

⁴ ब्राह्मण्या सह्योजनीयादुच्छिष्टं वा कदाचन ।

न तत्र दोषं मन्यन्ते नित्यमेव मनीषिणः ।

Ap. Sm. V. 7-8.

पितुर्घोष्ठस्य च भ्रातुर्च्छिष्टं भोज्यम् ।

Ap. Sm.

⁵ मद्यादिस्वादिगोहेषु पानमन्नं च नाचरेत् ।

तदमन्नादि संपक्वं न कुर्वीत कदाचन ।

दूति प्रायेषु पानीयं स्नेहं च कुतपादिषु ।

व्रतस्यो वर्जयेन्नित्यं योषितश्चाग्रतोचिताः ।

Yaśastilaka. p. 331.

C.f. Atri Sm.

in the ninth century.¹ The practice of not eating the food served at the house of one's daughter had also come into vogue.² Cakes, groats, parched barley, butter milk, curds, clarified butter, honey, preparations of milk, and sugarcane, or food cooked in oil or clarified butter could be bought from the market if water was not used in preparing them.³

Food was taken twice a day⁴ without reviling it.⁵ and one was expected to take only as much food as was necessary to satisfy hunger.⁶ Somadeva states that he who gorges himself with food gluttonously even when he is not hungry stirs up diseases.⁷ One is, therefore, advised to abstain from over-eating, under-eating, eating of combinations of hygienic and unhygienic food, and eating immediately after eating.⁸ It is recommended that food should vary according to the season. In the autumn a person should take sweet, bitter and astringent things, in the rainy and the winter seasons he should take sweet,

¹ Ancient Accounts of India and China by two Mohammedan travellers translated from Arabic by Eusebius Renaudot, pp. 36 and 98, 99.

² स्वसुतां च यो भुङ्क्ते स भुङ्क्ते पृथिवीमलम् ।

Atri, Sam. 304.

³ अपूप सक्तवो बानास्तकं दधि घृतं मधु ।
एतत्सर्वेषु भोज्यं भाण्डलेषु च चन्दमेत् ॥१७१॥
ग्राह्यं क्षीरविकारं स्यात्सर्वं चैवेक्षुसंभयम् ।
तैलक्षीराज्यपक्वं च जलसंमिश्रितं न हि ॥१७२॥

Laghvāśvalāyana Sm. 171, 173

⁴ सायं प्रातश्चभुञ्जीत नान्तराले कदाचन ।
सायं प्रातर्मनुष्याणामशनं देवनिमित्तम् ।

Visnu, Dh. Pu. III. 233, 28.

C.f. Gaut. Sm. IX. 4.

⁵ Vṛddha Harita Sm. VIII. 267.

अन्नं न निन्द्यात् सुस्वच्छः स्वीकुर्यात् प्रीतिभोजनम् ।
आहारं प्रवरं विद्यात् षड्वयं मधुरोत्तमम् ।

Sukra, III. 109.

⁶ यावद् भ्रियेत् जठरं तावत्स्वत्वं हि देहिनाम् ।
अधिकं योजिमन्येत स स्तेनो दण्ड्यर्हति ।

Bhāgavata Pu. VII. 14. 8.

⁷ Yaśastilaka III. 329.

See Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture by K. K. Handiqui p. 112.

नाजीर्णं भोजनं कुर्यात् कुर्यान्नातिबुभुक्षितः ।

Brahma Pu.

⁸ अत्यशनं लघ्वशनं समशनमध्यशनमत्र संत्याज्यम् ।

Yaśastilaka III. 345.

काले हितमिहाहारविहारी निषसाशनः ।

Sukra III. 107.

salty and sour things, and in the summer mild preparations.¹

We are also told that the constant eating of over-sweet dishes leads to indigestion, too much of salty food causes weakening of vision, extremely sour and pungent dishes lead to physical decay and any unhygienic food causes loss of strength. Certain remedies are also suggested for indigestion.² Someśvara lays down the order of dishes as they should be served. In the beginning one should take boiled rice then milk rice mixed with sugar and clarified butter, then fruits and sweet and sour articles of food, then delicious beverages and preparations like *Sikharinī* and thick curds should be taken. Last of all, preparations of butter milk mixed with salt or sour gruel should be taken.³ As in the earlier period, some articles are mentioned which should not be taken together. Bananas should not be taken with curds and butter milk, milk with salt, and broths of pulses with radishes, groats should not be taken when they become thick like curds and all sesamum preparations should be avoided at night. Germinating paddy and ghee kept in a brass vessel for a period of ten days are also forbidden.⁴ In the case of royal families it was customary to examine the food preparations to see that they did

¹ *Yasastilaka* III. 349-353.

C.f.

घृतं मुद्गाः क्षालिः समितविकृतिः क्षीरविधयः।
पटोलं मूढीकाः फलमिह च धान्याः समुचितम्।
सिता शीतच्छाया मधुरसवधं कन्दकुपलं।
शरत्काले सेव्यं रजनि वदने वन्दनिरणाः।

Yasastilaka III. 354.

वमशो कटु चारुनीयाद् ग्रीष्मे मधुरशीतलम्।
वर्षासु च तथा क्षारं मधुरं शरीरे स्मृतम्।
हेमन्ते स्निग्धमुष्णं च शिशिरेऽप्युष्णमम्लकम्।

Manas. XIII. 1599-1600.

² *Yasastilaka* III. 364-366.

³ पक्वान्नं पायसं मध्वं शर्करामृतविमिश्रितम्।
ततः फलानि भुञ्जीत मधुराम्लरसानि च। १५६५।
पिबेच्च पानकं हृद्यं लिङ्ग्याच्छिखरिणीमपि।
चूषेत् मज्जिका पञ्चाह्वि चाद्याततो घनम्। १५६६।
ततस्तक्राद्यमवनीयात् सन्धयेन च संयुतम्।
क्षीरं वापि पिबेत्पश्चात् पिबेत्वा काञ्जिकं वरम्।

Mānasollāsa II. 13. 1595-97.

⁴ *Yasastilaka* III. 341-43.

C.f.

रात्री च तिलसम्बद्धं प्रयत्नेन दधि त्यजेत्।
नास्नीयात्पयसा तक्रं सलारान्नं न योजयेत्।

Padma Pu. Adi. 56. 25.

not contain any poison and the symptoms are described in the works of this period as in those of the earlier periods.¹

A student and a householder were expected to take a nourishing full meal so that they might be able to perform sacrificial rites.² But the hermits lived on such coarse food as roots, fruits, tubers, vegetables, husked cereals, water or air alone.³

The general rules of etiquette were the same as in earlier period. A person should take his meals in a secluded place.⁴ He should sit not on bare ground and should not take his meals standing, walking or riding some animal. He should face the east and have his sacred thread and some clothes on his body but should not have his head dress or his shoes on. He should not take his meals in a burial ground or in a temple. He should not keep the food in his lap, in the palm of his hand or on a seat. He should neither have wet clothes nor his head wet. He should not, while taking meals, have his legs stretched. He should not sit on a cot, or on a seat made of leather. He should not eat leavings of his own food or drink. He should not eat very quickly in the company of many persons. He should not leave much food in his dish and should wash his mouth before going out.⁵

¹ Yaśastilaka III. 338-340.

C.f.

विषदोषप्रमादं विमृश्य कपिकुक्कुटैः।
हंसाः स्खलन्ति कुञ्जन्ति भृगाः नृत्यन्ति मायूराः।
बिरोति कुक्कुटो मत्तः कौञ्चो वैरघते कपिः।
दृष्टरोमा भवेद् बभ्रुः सारिकावते तथा।
दृष्ट्वैव सविषं चात्र तस्माद् भोज्यं परीक्षयेत्।

Sukraniti I. 325.27.

² गृहस्यो ब्रह्मचारी वा योनश्नस्तु तपश्चरेत्।

प्राणान्निहोत्रलोपेन घ्नवकीर्णी भवेत्तु सः।

Baudhayana Sm. II. 7. 33-34

³ Baudh. Sm. III. 3.

⁴ कुर्याद्निहारमाहारं निर्हारिबिजने सवा।

Sukraniti III. 108.

⁵ भूमौ सदैव चासनीयात्र च शब्दवत्।

Visnu. Dh. Pu. 233. 31.

हस्त्यश्वरथयानोद्भृमास्थितो नैव भक्षयेत्।
श्मशानाम्पुन्यस्थो वा देवालयगमयेष्यवा।
शयनस्थो न भुञ्जीत न पाणिस्थं न चातने।
नार्द्रं वासा नार्द्रं शिरा न चायज्ञोपवीतवान्।
न प्रसारितपादस्तु पादरोपितपाणिमान्।
सबाहुसन्धितस्त्यक्च न च पर्यङ्कमास्थितः।
न वेष्टितशिरा चापि नोत्सङ्गकृतभोजनः।

It was a general rule that sweets and other delicious dishes were not to be taken alone.¹ Sukra states that a person should not be too formal at the time of dinner if he wants to be happy.² He should eat his food quietly, neither talking, nor laughing nor making a noise.³ All persons were expected to take the same dishes in a party.⁴

Chewing betel leaves with some spices after meals was common as it was believed that it aided digestion.⁵ In the Naiṣadha

नैकवस्त्रो दध्मप्यो नोपानत्कः सपादुकः।
न चर्मोनरिसंस्पर्शश्च चर्मविष्टितपाश्वर्यान्।
प्रातःशेषं न चाशनीयात् पीतशीर्षं पिबेन्न च।
शाकमूलफलेद्युषां दन्तच्छेदनेनैव भक्षयेत्।
बहूनां भुञ्जतां मध्ये न चाशनीयात् स्वराग्निवतः।
यथा न विसृजेदन्नं नोच्छिष्टः कुत्रचिद् व्रजेद्।

Brahma. Pu.

Someśvara suggests that the king should sit on a cushion with a white napkin spread from the navel to the knee and take his food in the company of his near relatives and reliable courtiers.

ऊघ्नाभिप्रवेशान्तं सञ्छाद्य सितवातया।

Manasollāsa III. 13. 1588.

C.f.

प्राचीमुखस्तु भुञ्जान आमुक्च तमते बहु।
यद्यश्च तमतेऽप्यर्थमश्नन्दक्षिणदिङ्मुखः।
धियं तु तमते पुष्टां भुञ्जानः पश्चिमाननः।
सत्यवाक्यफलं प्राप्नोत्यश्नन् धनदिङ्मुखः।

Mānasollāsa III. 13. 1590-91.

स्वाध्याये भोजने पाने पादुके वै विरार्ययेत्। ३१।
यदेष्टितक्षिरा भुङ्क्ते यो भुङ्क्ते दक्षिणामुखः।
सोपानत्कश्च यो भुङ्क्ते तदै रक्षाति भुञ्जते। ३२।
नोत्सर्गे भोजनं कृत्वा नो पाषी नैव कर्षरे।
नासने न च शय्यायां भुञ्जीत न गत्तादितः।

Skanda Pu. Kāśī 41. 31-33.

C. f. Ap. Sm. IX., Vṛddha Hārta Sm. VIII. 267-276.

¹ एकः स्वादु न भुञ्जीत।

Sukra III. 52.

² आहारे त्यक्कारे च त्यक्तलज्जः सुखी भवेत्।

Sukra III. 186.

³ हसन्प्रासं च यो भुङ्क्ते सशब्दं सेङ्गितं तथा।
लेहितं त्रितितं चैव पठेते पङ्क्तिद्रूपकाः।

Bṛhadayama Sm. 33.

⁴ पङ्क्तिभेदेन यो भुङ्क्ते प्रातमात्रमपि द्विजः।
अथ स केवलं भुङ्क्ते हतश्रीर्जायतेऽधुवम्।

Laghvāśvalāyana Sm. 159.

⁵ कप्पूरकीट्यपहाणाहं तन्मोलाहं।

Samaraiccatkāhā, p. 80.

Carita after a grand dinner the bridegroom's party was served with betel leaves. Spices such as camphor and *kastūri* were used in preparing them. As they were chewed a pungent sensation was created on the tongue which made the people feel as if scorpions were stinging.¹ Chewing betel leaves in the company of others without being presented with them by others was regarded as a breach of social etiquette.²

The Dharma Śāstras of this period give a long list of articles which were taboo in sacrifices and of those which were regarded pure enough to be used. The *Mitākṣarā* considers the use of *vrihi*, *śālī*, *barley*, wheat, *mudga*, *māṣa*, cereals used by ascetics, *kālaśāka*, *mabātālka* (a kind of fish), cardamom, dry ginger, black pepper, asafoetida, treacle, sugar, camphor, rock salt, salt from the Sambhar lake, bread fruit, cocoanut, banana, jujube, products of cow's milk, such as milk, curds, clarified butter and milk, rice, honey and meat proper on such occasions. It prohibits the use of *koḍrava*, *maśūra*, gram, *kulattba*, shrivelled grain, *niṣpāva*, *rāja-māṣa*, *kūṣmāṇḍa* (gourd), *brinjal*, *brhātī*, *podakī*, tender leaves of bamboo, long pepper, *vaca*, *śatapuspā*, *āṣara* and *biḍa* salts, milk rice prepared from the milk of a buffalo or *camara*. Similar injunctions, with some variations, are found in the *Smṛtis* and the *Purāṇas* of the period.³ But *Vijñāneśvara* permits the use of

लाभः स एव परमः पर्याप्तं तेन तृप्तास्मि।

विनिवेद्य यदुत्सङ्गे निक्षिपति मूले मूलेन ताम्बूलम्।

Kuṭṭanimatam.

C.f. *Kathāsarit Sāgara* Vol. VI. p. 23, VII. p. 74, VIII. p. 4.

Vikramāṅkadeva Carita X. 38, Alberuni 68.

¹ मूले निधाय क्रमकं नलानुर्योर्योजिष्ठ पर्णानिरवेक्ष्य वृश्चिकम्।

दमापितान्तर्मुखवासनिमित्तम् भयायिलैः स्वप्नमहासितारिलैः।

Naiṣadha XVI 110.

² *Śukra* II. 410-11.

³ हविष्यं याद हविर्योग्यं ब्रीहिशालिवन्गोभूममुद्गमापमुन्यन्नकालशाकमहाशल्कला-
शुण्ठी मरिच हिङ्गु गुडशर्करा कर्पूरसंघव साम्बरपनसनारिकेल कदली बदरगण्य पयोदधि घृत
पायस मधुमांस प्रयतिस्त्वन्तरं प्रसिद्धं वेदितव्यम्। अहविष्यमित्यनेनैवायोग्यस्य स्मृत्यन्तर-
प्रतिषिद्धस्यकोद्व मरुरचणक कुलित्य पुलाक निध्याव राजमाप कूष्माण्ड वार्ताक बृहतीदयोपोष-
की वंशाङ्कुरपिप्पली वचाशतपुष्पोपर विडलवण माहिव चामर क्षीर दधि घृत पायसादीनां
निवृत्तिः।

Mitākṣarā on *Yaj.* I. 240.

C.f. *Agni. Pu.* 165. 2, 168 16.21. *Padma. Pu. Adi.* 36 19-24, 31-35.
Skanda. Pu. Kāśī. 40 9-13.

garlic as a medicine and quotes Sumantu as an authority.¹ Some Jain writers objected to the eating of beans and pulses as these too, according to them, are flesh, being endowed with life. Soma-deva, however, rejects this view,² and states that all liquids should be strained through a cloth before use to avoid any possible injury to living creatures and one was for the same reason to give up eating at night.³ Pickles, syrups, unhusked paddy, flowers, fruits, roots and leaves, being the breeding ground of living organisms, should not be acquired for use nor anything that is frequented by the latter. Hollow stalks and reeds should be avoided as well as creepers and bulbs resorted to by diverse creatures. Herbs and creatures should be taken when no longer raw, after splitting them into two sections, and all kinds of pulses and beans which are cooked entire should be avoided.⁴

Śrāddha feasts were common during this period but we get some other details about the food habits of the people. Fruits such as citrus medica, cocoanut, banana, dates, and oranges were

Visnu. Dh. Pu. 141 21-26. III. 230 12-14. III. 233 26-27.

Angiras Sm. 139, Attri. Sam. 92, 235, 379, Attri. Sm. 7 Ap. Sm. VI. 9, Prajapati Sm. 113-123.

Vṛddha Hārta Sm. VII. 108-123, VIII. 253-254, 261-265, 277-282. XI. 99-101. Veda Vyasa Sm. III. 63-65. Śankha Sm. XIV. 19-26, XVII 20-34.

¹ एतान्येव व्याधितस्य त्रिषक् क्रियायामप्रतिषिद्धीनि भवन्ति । यानि चैवं प्रकाराणि तेज्वपि न दोषः ।

Sumantu quoted in Mitākṣarā on Yaj. III. 290.

² तदाह मांसं जीवणरीरं भवेन्न वा मांसम् ।

यद्भिन्म्वो बृहो बृक्षस्तुभवेन्नवानिम्बः ।

Yāśastilaka p. 331.

³ Kumārapāla Carita VIII. 68.

⁴ देवद्रव्याणि सर्वाणि पटपूतानि योजयेत् ।

.....
निशायां वर्जयेद् भुक्तिमिहामुत्र च दुःखदाम् ।

संधानं पानकं घान्यं पुष्पं मूलं फलं दलम् ।

जीवयोनिं न संग्राह्यम् यज्जीवैर्यदुतम् ।

यदन्तः क्षुपिरप्रायं हेवं नाली नखादि तत ।

घनन्तः कायिकं प्रायं बल्लीकन्दादिकं त्यजेत् ।

द्विदलं द्विदलं प्राश्यं प्रायेणानवतां गतम् ।

सिन्धवः सकलास्त्याज्याः साधिताः सकलान्न-याः ।

Yāśastilaka p. 335.

given to a pregnant woman. Food articles cooked in milk, clarified butter, or mixed with honey and curds were given to a child at the time of the ceremony of first feeding. Rice and fruits were given to a boy at the ceremony of putting on the sacred thread.¹ Salt, honey and meat were not taken when one observed a fast.² The Jains considered it meritorious to starve themselves to death.³

From the Uktivyakti prakaraṇa we know that the diet of the people of Banaras in the twelfth century consisted of boiled rice, milk rice, *kejsara* and cakes. Parched grain was eaten and groats were taken with clarified butter and sugar. They were also kneaded into balls. People also liked cakes fried in clarified butter. Some people took meat soup and rice cooked with meat and roasted meat.

The students learnt the art of cooking from the teacher's wife. They cooked their own food from the provisions they got in alms. People, generally, took food after taking bath, worshipping gods and offering food to Brāhmaṇas. Brāhmaṇas were fond of sweets such as *modakas* and did full justice to the food served in the feasts.⁴

From a south Indian inscription we know that cardamom, *campaka* buds, *kebasakhasa*, roots, *dāla*, pepper, spices, cumin, sugar, clarified butter, tamarind, curds, grams, plantains, pulses, husked rice, paddy, oil and salt were the common food articles in the South about 1000 A.D.⁵

From the Yaśastilaka we learn that the daily diet of the rich in the South consisted of white shining rice, broths of golden

¹ मातुलिङ्गनारिकेसं रम्भासर्जूरपूरकम् ।

शस्तानि स्युरयान्धानि नारिङ्गादीनि वापि च ।

Āśv. Sm. Garbhādhāna. 9.

क्षीराज्यमधुदध्यन्नं विधाय प्राशयेच्छिशून् ।

Āśv. Sm. Annaprāśana 3.

तण्डुलान् सफलान् दद्याद् भिक्षार्थं जननीतु च ।

Āśv. Sm. Upanayana.

² लवणं मधुमांसं च क्षाराञ्च यो येन हूयते । ज्वलासे न भुञ्जीत ।

Gobhila Sm. III. 117.

³ अणसण मरण भरिवितवततज्ज दसनइदेवलोई संपत्तउ ।

Bhaviṣayatta. XII. 4.

⁴ Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa pp. 21, 22, 37, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49.

⁵ South Indian Inscriptions No. 1 of Rājakesari 1000 A.D.

colour, butter, curries, well cooked savoury dishes, thick curds, milk, milk rice, sweets and water perfumed with camphor. The meal of the miserly people consisted of boiled rice grown stale, half cooked gourds, and certain badly cooked vegetables as well as some gruel mixed with plenty of mustards. Their beverage was some alkaline fluid with a taste like that of the water of a salt mine. Some poor people subsisted on *śyāmāka* rice and whey.¹

We propose to conclude this chapter with a review of the feasts during this period. From Nalacampū we learn that boiled rice, *mudga*, *modakas*, *asokavarti*, meat, many kinds of vegetables condiments, milk, curds, *gbārikā*, clarified butter, honey, sugar and fruit juices were generally served in feasts.² In such feasts the ground was covered with pieces of cloth, all kinds of utensils were brought together and drinking was indulged in.³ Saline preparations such as *kaccara* and *parpaṭa* were served. Sweet preparations of treacle and *frikhaṇḍa*, many kinds of broths, cakes, *kāsāra*, *subālā* (sweet cakes) and fruits such as *kapittba*, grapes, cocoanuts, mangoes, citrus, and pomegranates were also eaten with great relish. Betel leaves with some spices such as camphor

¹ Yaśastilaka. III. Report of Śaṅkhānaka.

² तस्यां च बहुविस्तीर्णं स्वर्णं भोजनपात्रं पत्रशंखं शुक्तिं चनायायानुपविष्टस्यास्यै क्रमेण परिकरमावध्य गाढमाढीकन्तं स्वस्यानु हारिणोऽथ विषोचानादाय सूपकाराः सूपकाराङ्गनाश्च । तथाहितस्य भक्तम्, मुद्गा मुद्गान्, मोदकानोदकान् अशोकवर्तिन्योऽशोकवर्तीः । समोत्ता मांसम् नानाशकाः शाकानि, धञ्जनाभ्यञ्जनम् अपरास्तु कारिचदक्षीरा क्षीरम्, अघारिका अपि चारिकाः परिवेष्यामुः ।

लग्नाः सर्वतोदृश्यन्ते पर्वताः पक्ष्मास्य, राशयः शाख्योदनस्य, सूपाः सूपस्य, निर्भराः सर्पिषः, तिन्धवो मधुनः, निकरोशकरायाः, स्रोतांसिदधिदुग्धयोः, खेलाः शाकानां, निपानानि पाकानाम्, कुल्याः फल रसानाम्, कूटाः कषायामृततवनतित्तमधुरोपदंशानाम् ।

Nalacampū. p. 97.

³ ततो भोजनभूमिं ते क्रमेणात्र समासदन ।

विद्याविभव संभूत विविधाहार हारिणीम् । १२१ ।

आस्तीर्णवस्त्रां पात्राद्यां सतिरस्करणीपटाम् ।

नानाविधास्वाद्यरसां नाद्यवेदीमिव श्रियाम् । १२२ ।

आपान भूमिः तज्ज्ये तदयाम्भ्यतामिति ।

तच्छ्रुत्वा ते ययुः सर्वे तामापानभुवं शुभाम् । १२४ ।

विविधरत्नचयवप्रफुल्लविविधाम्भुजाम् ।

विकीर्णानेकं कुसुमामुद्याननजिनीमिव । १२५ ।

व्याप्रां भतासवापूर्णकलशीभिः पुरंश्रिभिः ।

तन्वतीभिः सुधाहृतं बाहूपन्नान्तप्रभम् । १२६ ।

and betel nuts were taken after feasts.¹

We have the account of a royal feast in the *Kathākoṣaprakaraṇa* (1108 V.S.). The first course, served to king *Sreṇika*, consisted of fruits such as pomegranates, grapes, and jujube, which could be chewed with teeth. The second course consisted of such fruits as could be sucked such as pieces of sugarcane, dates, oranges, and mangoes. The third course consisted of such well cooked preparations as could be taken by licking. In the fourth course some sweets such as *sevāka*, *modaka*, *phenaka* *ghṛtapūra* were served. The fifth course consisted of fragrant boiled rice, and the sixth course of broths prepared by mixing many food stuffs. After this the dishes and cups were removed and the king washed his hands in a vessel specially meant for the purpose. The seventh course consisted of preparations of curds. Again these dishes etc. were removed and hands washed. In the end some half boiled milk with sugar, honey and saffron was served.

१ सलोनं समिद्धं नदेहेविरुद्धं वरं सान्निभत्तं सुप्रभं सुसिद्धं ।
तद्वादेऽसुस्सारं मुग्गायवत्ता नरापावहो जेणभोया विचिन्ता ।
मयदेइ नासायवेयं पसत्त्वं नसोपावए किपिभावेणदुत्तं ।
पुनोक्कच्चरा पप्पदा दिननेयाजयंताण कोवन्नएदिब्बतेया ।
वरासन्नणाचारुसाहूणयाई नरोसोलहं भोयभूमीहि जाई ।
मुणीणं मणिट्ठं गुडं तेयसंढं सयावित्तए भुंजए भोयसंढं ।
कसायंविता तीवणा तिक्कसारा गुदेणं पिगाढा जईणंपियारा ।
मुहासेय मंडाय खंडासुभच्छा तुमंइच्छसिग्ग भोगाइवच्छा ।
गुणाधारिया लड्डुभासोरसज्जा कसारं गुतारं मुहालीमणुज्जा ।
ससत्तीए भत्तीए जोदेइदाया महीमूलसग्गमिसा होइराया ।
कविस्सा सुदक्खामहानालिएरा गुग्गु माहुलिया नरापक्कसारा ।
सुराईहि दहिणंहिलितं पविशं वरंआमुरीयं मुहंदेहदत्तं ।
सहारंवसज्जायया भव्वभंवा भहोएव माई करेवि अउब्बा ।
सुसाहूण जोदेइए मच्चलोए न छुवुंत्तिपासं सयातस्सा भोए ।
नरेणच्छनुत्तं दहीयंपिस्तीरं विडंनिच्चजोदेइ ताहीसरीरं ।
रत्तंपावएइत्तए जोमणीसं मुहसेवए किन्नराणां असेसं ।
मुणीणं तद्वापन्नयाजेहिदिन्नासुकप्पूरुव्वेण षउरेण भिन्ना ।
तप्पोतेहि पविज्जए किन्नराणं भमंतो नहे हिउएसुविमानं ।
मुहावच्चराकोइलातावदाया गुहं पावएदिब्ब वाणी सुवाया ।
जहाजेणदत्तंतद्वा तेण पत्तं इमं मुच्चए सिट्ठलोएणनुत्तं ।
सुपायन्नवा कोइवाजतमाली कहुंसोभावए तत्तसाली ।
सिरीसंढकप्पूरएलाइदिन्ना मुहासिदिहे पोप्फलाजेण दिन्ना ।
भवेतस्सा वायाभलीमाणवारी सुख्येण कामोसिरीकन्नधारी ।

Bhavisayattakahā. Sandhi. XII. Account of the feast, given by Bhavissa when he got back his wife.

After cleaning his teeth with tooth sticks, and some fragrant powder the king again washed his hands with luke warm water and fragrant powder. It looks like the description of a grand modern feast.¹ A similar account is given in *Vilāsavatīkathā* where pickles prepared with *karīra* fruit and *Karamarda*, *vaṣakas* of many kinds prepared with milk and curds and vegetables such as *kāravella* are also mentioned.² Lastly we may refer to the account of marriage feast given in the *Naiṣadha Carita*. It is mainly based on the imagination of the poet. But it reflects the contemporary conditions in royal households. The food preparations were served in dishes made of emerald. The boiled rice was served hot. It was unbroken, well cooked, white in colour, fragrant and delicious. Each grain was separate from the other. The milk rice was mixed with clarified butter. The

¹ *Kathākoṣa Prakaraṇa* by Jineśvara Sūri, *Śālī Bhadrā Kathā* p. 38, Singhi J. in Granthamala.

² वामपासंमिदेवी विवहसोरिया दिव्वावायालाइ उवणतिमंभारिया ।
कणयमणि-रुप कच्चोल संपुत्रयं कणयत्यालं कुमस्सवित्तिचयं ।
दक्खसज्जर खुडहुडिय उत्ततियादिधं बरिसोलभवराय सजुत्तिया ।
भुंजेविकिज्जहत्थ पक्खालणं सिधुसवणेण सहदिज्जएसालणं ।
अवटीटी करीराइ करवंदयवित्तियावक्ककडं गज्जरं अह्वं ।
पुण गोहुम सालेहि मुग्गहंवालहिं पिठ्ठेहि सज्जियरत्तचडिय ।
कालायरवद्ध हिं गु सुयंक्तलियतिविह पप्पड पडिय ।
खंडमासुरियगुत्तमिठ्ठयं बहुपलेहिं तह मुजिवेपेठयं ।
तलियसवलेह चणकर वाइगणं कासमहेणत्तंसिद्धयं रिगणं ।
तिडिसं कच्चरं अवंभवोइयादिभत्तुटीरिया खंडसंजोइया ।
चमत्तया पुंचुचण साइ चमलाइयावत्तुलोलोणमोसरिसवीराइया ।
गोहुमा चणयवत्तलायतहत्तंगरो बहुपयारेहिनिम्मविज्जपाचुंगरो ।
वडियपट्टिविडियावेरवडिनिविया हरडइ दाडिमी अंबर सरडिया ।
कंचनारं करीराइ टक्कारिया फोण सोहुंजणो दिन्न अग्गारिया ।
तलिय पडलत्त कंक्कोड कारेल्लवाचंगकालिग कवकडियदिन्नेलिया ।
खीरखड घोलवडदुद्धपडदिन्ना पुणुपडति घवलत्तचमंभया ।
पेउराविव चहुत्तरिय खंडयावाउजाय सुहपाय नडिया ।
सरससेवसहिया सुहासिया सन्नचुइय कात्तारमीलिया ।
बरमुरक्कवडियामुक्किया कोक्करीसत्तपसिय दुक्किया ।
बुद्धवडय तहवडहु सावणा सिंहकेसरा मोइयापणा ।
खडखज्ज अट्ठारत्तं इमंतकमेण परिविट्ठ उत्तमं ।
छासिहारेण खपोलइ पाणइ बहुलइ भत्तत्तरे अईमिट्ठकं ।
सहुंसिट्ठहि निरएहिखडेहि तरिएहि कडिउदुपरिविट्ठं ।

From the Introduction to *Apabhramśaśatrayī* citing examples of *Apabhramśa* language. pp. 111-12.

Vilāsavatīkathā J. Bha. Ta. II. 147, 8., 202, 203 by Siddhasena Sūri 1123

preparations of curds mixed with black mustard made the party scratch their heads on account of their pungent taste. Taste-ful broths were prepared with the flesh of deer, and fish. The preparations were so skilfully made that the party could not distinguish between vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. Vegetable broths, and thick curds with white sugar were also served. Flesh was so dressed that it looked like a *Bimba* fruit. *Vaṭakas* dropped in milk, and *laḍḍukas* as white as hailstones, sugar dolls, and sweet cakes were some other delicacies. We have already referred to the betel leaves which created a sensation like that of the bite of a scorpion. All this shows that the marriage feast was a feast par excellence.¹

To sum up we notice that the food habits of the people had considerably changed. Their food during the period was not so simple as in the past. They had learnt to make fine sweets from wheat flour and pulses such as *kāsāra*, *pāhalikā*, *subhāli*, *patrikā*, *keṣṭravaṭa*, *idarikā* and *ghārikā* and saline preparations from rice flour and pulses such as *kaccaras* and *parpaṭas*, *pārikās*, *veṣṭikās*, *dhosakas*, and *kaṭakārṇas* were some delicious preparations of gram flour in common use. Along with the vegetarian dishes, the *Mānasollāsa* describes a number of fine meat preparations such as *suṇṭhakas*, *kavacandī*, *puryāla*, *bhaḍitraka* and *maṇḍaliya*. Among the *Tāntrikas* and some royal families non-vegetarian diet and drinking was common but a considerable section of society, influenced by the teachings of the Jains, completely avoided meat diet. This change is clearly visible in the account of the feasts. Some of these included no meat preparations. Even in *Śrāddha* feasts preparation of meat dishes was not considered obligatory, now. Meat eating and drinking was common among the *Kṣatriyas*, *Sādras* and the *Tāntrikas*. The accounts of the feasts show that a very high standard had been attained in the art of cooking both the vegetarian and the non-vegetarian dishes.

¹ *Naiṣadha* XVI. 66-107.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Our food habits from times immemorial to the end of the 12th century A.D. are a major reflex of our cultural evolution. In the early stages the Negroid man as a mere fruit procurer lived on fruits, nuts, tubers and the flesh of animals that he hunted and killed. With the Proto-Australoid we come to a period when man produced food for himself, and from the list of fruit and vegetables and other things which he consumed it appears that the Indian Proto-Australoid was no mere barbarian. He had learnt the use of betel leaves and betel nuts and produced many of the fruits the use of which comes down to our period. He was perhaps also the first producer of rice. With the coming of Dravidians we find this cultural evolution going further. He used boiled rice, sour rice gruel, fried barley and some new pulses such as *Māṣa*, *Mudga* and *Maśāra*. We find him also frying things in oil and seasoning his meat. Palm juice industry and toddy tapping go back to that early period in our history. We find also the use of some new fruits, vegetables and spices.

In the Indus Valley civilisation we come across the use of wheat, barley, sesamum and brassica. Wheat was ground in mortars with pestles possibly because the people did not know the use of circular grinding stones. They domesticated buffaloes, goats and sheep and probably drank their milk. They used melons, dates, cocoanuts and the flesh of animals, birds and fish. On the basis of food we are unable to decide the race of these people. Their food is different from the food of the Proto-Australoids as also from that of Dravidians, so it is possible that they may have been a different people who entered India before the Aryans.

The food of the early Aryans clearly proves that they were a Northern race. In the *R̥gveda* we find them consuming barley, milk, curds, clarified butter, mutton and beef. There is no mention of either wheat or rice in the *R̥gveda*. But when we come

to the Yajurveda we find the Aryans using wheat, rice as well as many varieties of pulses. The inclusion of these food grains in the Aryan dietary may be explained only by their contact with the people of the Indus Valley culture and also the Dravidians who had been using these articles before the coming of the latter. Oil is not mentioned in the Ṛgveda but we find its mention in the Atharvaveda as the food of the *Yātudhānas* or *Rākṣasas* which again is indicative of the fact that its use was restricted to non-Aryans. This view is further corroborated by the remark of Vagbhata I, who states that the use of oil contributed largely to the strength of *Daitya* rulers and their capacity to put in hard work. Sugarcane is not mentioned in the Ṛgveda, and in the earlier works only honey is prescribed as a sweetening ingredient. The products of sugarcane also may have been included in the Aryan menu only after their contact with their predecessors in India who already knew their use.

In the Sūtra period there is an attempt to arrest the speed of these changes.¹ From the prohibitions and taboos found in the Sūtra literature we may guess that the Indian culture was entering a period when it was not only growing selfconscious but also trying to protect itself against foreign contacts and habits by laying down rules for maintaining the purity of food. In the beginning of the period the Sūdras were allowed to cook food under the supervision of the Aryans, though there were some persons called *Niravasita*² who were regarded as unfit to be served in the utensils of an Ārya. Later the view was held that contact with Sūdras defiled food and dining with unworthy people was improper. The food of artisans was prohibited; probably because they were mostly non-Aryans. The use of dark grains such as *Māṣa*, beans, garlic, onions, mushroom, turnips etc. was interdicted probably because these were generally consumed by non-

¹ The process of assimilation of non-Aryan elements into the Aryan society by the performance of *Vratya* sacrifices is clearly referred to. Probably the institution of *Vrata* or vow is also associated with them.

² The out castes who would pollute utensils which might not be used by others are called *niravasita* by Pāṇini. These, most probably included *Cāṇḍālas* to eat whose food was regarded as an unpardonable sin for other castes according to the Pāli texts. Such castes as the blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers, milkmen, washermen were regarded as *aniravasita* i.e. they did not pollute utensils and food could be served to them in the utensils of persons of high castes.

Aryans. There is prohibition against unclean meat. Students and widows were advised to avoid meat preparations. Brāhmaṇas were asked to avoid all intoxicating drinks while the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas were enjoined not to take liquors prepared from cereals. The only concession the Aryans make to popular sentiment is that they now permit the use of oil as a substitute for clarified butter, if the latter could not be had.

In the Jain and Buddhist works we find the food habits as they prevailed in eastern India. Rice and fish were the main items of food. Both the Buddha and Mahāvīra preferred non-violence. They condemned animal sacrifices. But while the Buddha did not insist on his followers conforming to strict vegetarianism and advised them not to take meat preparations if an animal was expressly killed for them, Mahāvīra went a step further. He did not allow his followers to take even those fruits or vegetables in which there was probability of the existence of any living organism. Even water was to be strained before being used for drinking purposes. Food was not to be taken at night for the same reason. Mahāvīra advised Jain monks to avoid rich food.¹ The practice of betel chewing is mentioned in the Jātakas for the first time. It is not mentioned in the Sūtra literature, in the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata. This again may be a result of the Aryan contact with the non-Aryans especially the Proto-Australoids. Many varieties of fruits, and fruit syrups and sweets are described in the Buddhist and Jain works and these may have taken the place of meat and wine in the dietary of the Jains. Though prohibited both by the Buddha and Mahāvīra, the use of intoxicating drinks by other sections of society may be presumed from their frequent mention in the Jain canonical works.

Kauṭilya gives a fairly good idea of food habits as they prevailed in the Maurya period. People were vegetarians as well as non-vegetarians. A superintendent of slaughter houses supervised the sale of meat. Fish is mentioned along with vegetables by Kauṭilya probably because it was a common article of food in the eastern parts of India which fact is corroborated by the description of the habits of the people of these parts in the later medical works. The Kṣatriyas and people residing in the hills were gene-

¹ Probably he himself was impressed by the doctrines of the Ajivikas who regarded taking rich food as an impediment in the practice of penances.

rally non-vegetarians. But the influence of Jainism and Buddhism was making itself felt to an increasing extent. According to Megasthenes, Brāhmaṇas generally avoided meat. This influence became deeper in the reign of Aśoka, which is a land mark in the development of the idea of vegetarianism. He prohibited the killing of animals on certain days of the year and forbade wholly the slaughter of certain categories of animals and birds. He criticised also the practice of meat eating on festive occasions and sacrifices.

We know from Kauṭilya that there was great disparity between the standard of living of an Ārya and that of a low caste worker. He wrote "One *prastha* of rice pure and unsplit, one fourth part of *sūpa* and clarified butter or oil equal to one fourth part of *sūpa* will suffice to form one meal of an Ārya. One sixth *prastha* of rice and half the above quantity of clarified butter will form the meal for a man of low caste. Three fourths of the same ration will be the food of women and half of that will be for children."

From Patañjali we know that the Śakas and Yavanas had been included in the category of *aniravasita* Sūdras. Onions were generally used by non-vegetarians probably those who had come from foreign countries. People who took meals in a standing posture are called *abrāhmaṇa* by Patañjali probably because it was against the traditional Brahmanical practice.

The epics represent in a general way the conditions as they prevailed in the North-Western half of India in the post-Buddhist period. In the *Madhyadeśa* the Kṣatriyas continued to be non-vegetarians. The Brāhmaṇas generally took only sanctified meat. The Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas who had no objection to taking meat, were an exception. Actually as we proceed farther from the centres of Buddhism we find greater use of animal food by all sections of society. The Vāhlikas took beef and gruel with parched barley. Drinking to an excess was common even among their women. *Rākṣasas* are represented as consumers of meat diet and intoxicating drinks. The *Vānaras* were fond of drinking though they lived mainly on fruit diet.)

Influence of the sects preaching Ahimsā may be seen in the *Mahābhārata* as well as in the *Manusmṛiti*. A spirit of compromise may be detected in the oft-quoted verse from the Manu-

smṛti which states that 'there is no harm in eating meat or drinking intoxicating liquors as it is the natural craving of man but abstaining from them is meritorious.' The Gītā recognizes that the food habits vary with the temperaments of the people.

In the Sunga period we find that there was a revival of *Aśvamedha* and many other sacrifices in which a number of animals must have been slaughtered and consumed. Aśoka's edicts against meat eating might have been responsible for this reaction. We find other orthodox Hindu rulers, the Sātavāhanas, the Pallavas and many others also performing such sacrifices. From medical works we learn that in this period the Indians used more than forty varieties of rice, sixty varieties of fruits including some dry fruits such as almonds and more than one hundred and twenty vegetables. Treating the subject scientifically they give a list of food articles which suit people residing in different regions, as also the articles which one should consume in a particular season. Many new preparations are now mentioned for the first time and perhaps the influence of foreigners, under whom physicians like Caraka were serving, is responsible for the prescription of meat diet almost invariably for every patient. Meat soup is regarded as the most nourishing food, and wines taken in moderation are considered as wholesome as nectar itself. Some new sweets and preparations from fruit juices also came into use; and this richness of food may have been a result of the wealth which was pouring into India from Western countries as a result of the foreign trade during the Kuṣāṇa period.

Dinner of the rich was a grand occasion. Even the order in which dishes were to be served is laid down. The modern practice of listening to sweet music at the time of dinner is found in the Kāśyapa Saṁhitā. Betel chewing and smoking cigars prepared with some fragrant substances were common among the rich. Garlic juice is prescribed in many diseases. A prohibition against taking meals during the eclipse is mentioned for the first time. This belief may have come to us from Central or Western Asia.

In the Gupta period Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism come very near each other in many respects. The Gupta rulers were *Parama Bhāgavatas* i.e. believers in the Bhāgavata religion,

the later developments of which interdicted the use of meat diet. From Fabien's account it appears that vegetarianism had been accepted as the normal way of life. Abstaining from meat was considered meritorious and even some of the Purāṇas lay down that cereals should be used in sacrifices and not animals. Some people who were outside the Aryan social order and those who inhabited certain regions, which were considered outside the Aryan fold relished meat diet. Fruit supply was quite abundant and fruit juices quite popular. But foreign articles of food were gradually finding a way into Indian dietary. Garlic is prescribed as a medicine even for Brāhmaṇas though a way out is suggested by the Bower Mss. according to which a Brāhmaṇa could have full medicinal effect of garlic by using the milk of a cow fed on garlic. *Masūra*, gram, *Koradūṣaka* and *Māṣa* from part of Indian dietary but they are still treated as exotic and are not prescribed in a Śrāddha.

The rich and luxurious life of the period, is reflected in the variety of dishes prepared from cereals and milk products and in the scenes of drinking depicted in the Ajanta paintings. In the richer sections of society even women drank, for it was believed that this habit heightened their beauty. In south India rich liquors imported from the West were used by the members of royal families, and country wine was drunk by the poor because toddy tapping has been in existence there from times immemorial. Brāhmaṇas and Sramaṇas generally avoided any intoxicating liquors and used fruit syrups instead because they regarded drinking as a sin.

Our history for the period 750-1200 A.D. is rather obscure but it was during these years that the Hunas and Gurjaras became members of the Indian caste system. Many of the Tibetan invaders also perhaps settled down in this country. As a result of all this, we find some of the old tendencies getting arrested and a large section of society, especially the Rājapūts, turning to the use of meat diet. The sons of Hariścandra from the Kṣatriya wife are called *Maḍyapāyinaḥ* (indulging in drinks). Among royal households especially, meat diet became so popular that the *Mānasollāsa* deals mainly with meat preparations in the *An-nabboga* section and describes the various delicacies in detail. The

influence of Tibetan elements is discernible in the teachings of the *Tāntrikas* who gave religious sanction to the use of wine and meat and the company of women, and associated pleasure with salvation in their teachings. Among vegetarian foods gram seems to have become, by now, very popular. Someśvara prescribed its use in many preparations, both vegetarian and non-vegetarian. Many new preparations from wheat and rice flour and pulses are mentioned. *Vaṣakas* of many kinds prepared from *Māṣa* pulse were very popular.

A reaction against meat eating is to be found in the religious movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Western parts of India, where Jainism became so influential that rulers like Kumārapāla and Alhaṇa issued *amarighoṣaṇās* i.e. royal proclamations for the non-slaughter of animals. People were punished if they slaughtered animals on certain days of the year. But even here an exception was made in the case of *Purohitas*, who were obviously habitual users of meat diet. Rājput, too, may have largely continued eating meat. Gradually, however, the influence of these humanitarian movements started by Kings like Kumārapāla changed considerably the food habits of large sections of people in Rājasthān and Gujarat.

The vegetable preparations mentioned in Jain works and the non-vegetable dishes described in the *Mānasollāsa* show a high development in the art of cooking. The account of the marriage feast given in *Naiṣadha Carita* also shows that some people were expert in preparing excellent dishes. The members of the marriage party could not distinguish between the vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. All this must have been done by the intermixture of various ingredients used and by the skill of dressing them.

As in history, so also in food habits, we see two principles at work, the principle of continuity and the principle of change. Though we may remark that 'change itself is a continuous process and even a static continuity must yield to gradual change so long as it is not overcome by complete stagnation and death.'¹ Changes in our food habits come but without there being any serious break with the past, and no one factor can be held res-

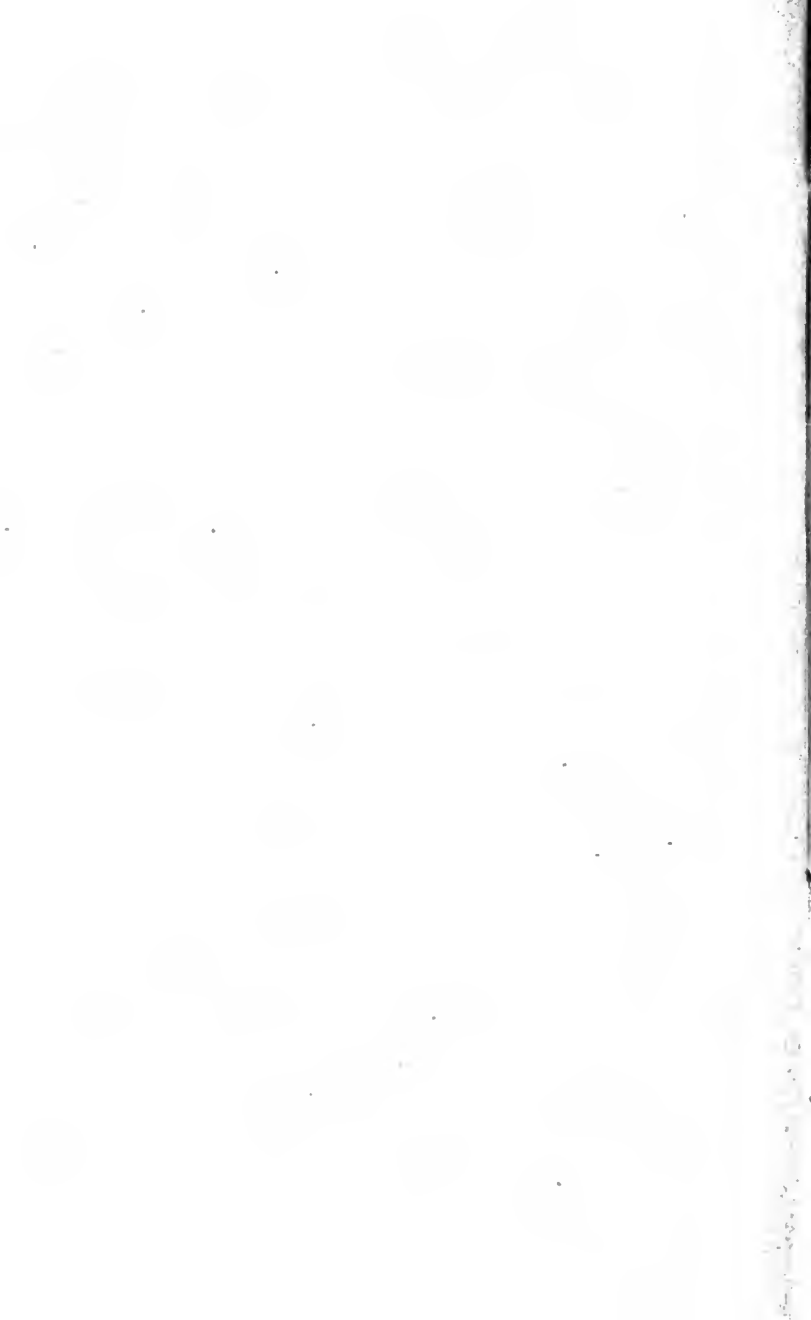
¹ Sri Jawahar Lal Nehru, *Indian Inheritance*, Vol. III. p. 86.

possible for shaping the manifold currents in this process. The fusion of the Aryans with the non-Aryans resulted in the evolution of a diet which was relished by all irrespective of caste or creed consideration. But in this diet there were as many variations as in our culture. The use of garlic and onions was eschewed by the higher castes for centuries and even now some sections of Hindu society do not consume them. Their popularity in North Western India was obviously due to the continued influence of foreign elements. Religious rules disallowed the use of wine for Brāhmaṇas but it remained popular enough with Kṣatriyas and other sections of society. Variety of food habits resulted also from geographical factors. No royal order or religious prohibition could prevent the use of rice and fish in Eastern or Southern and of wheat in North-Western India, nor could the food of the rich and the poor have been the same. We know from the Mahābhārata that the rich enjoyed meat preparations, the people of the middle classes relished articles cooked in clarified butter and the poor were satisfied with food articles cooked in oil. Food varied also on account of the religious ideals that the people entertained. While Buddhism, Jainism and the orders of rulers like Aśoka and Kumārapāla turned people to vegetarianism, the influence of Vedic religion, primarily and later on the influx of many foreign tribes made them non-vegetarians. But even in all this diversity we can perhaps see a general movement towards vegetarianism,¹ because Indians have generally felt like Mahatma Gandhi that 'abstemiousness from intoxicating drinks and drugs and from all kinds of foods, especially meat is undoubtedly a great aid to the evolution of the spirit, though,² it is by no means an end in itself.'³

¹ This fact is in conformity with the evolutionary trends of Indian thought and culture. A non-vegetarian or rather a mixed diet is the normal feature in the beginning. Later on the use of meat became restricted. People, who used it, had to find pleas for its use or be apologetic about it and some sections of society gave up meat diet altogether.

² The original has 'but' instead of 'though.'

³ Selections from Gandhi—Ahmedabad, p. 252.



APPENDIX I

HISTORY OF FRYING IN ANCIENT INDIA

(Upto c. 500 A.D.)

Some scholars are of opinion that frying was introduced into India by the Muslims. In this short note it is proposed to examine the available evidence with a view to finding out how far the assertion is based on facts.

The early Jain canonical works which in their present form were compiled in the fifth century A.D. assign a separate name for all the fried articles and call them *supakvam*.¹ By way of illustration the commentators mention two sweets *gbrtapūra* and *kḥajjakas*.² Among the non-vegetarian preparations they distinctly mention fried (*talita*) meat.³

Suśruta (latest in the fourth century A.D.) calls articles fried in clarified butter or oil *gbrta taila pakvāṭ*⁴ and mentions many sweets prepared by frying such as *gbrtapūra*, *madhuśīrṣaka* and *pḥenakas*.⁵ Fried meat is called *taila-siddhamāṃsa*⁶ or *pari-suṣka māṃsa*.⁷ In the beginning of the fourth century the author of Āṅgavijjā names a number of articles of food such as *moreṇḍaka*, *śaṣkuli*, *pāpa*, *pḥenaka*, *utkārīkā* and *dīvalīkā*⁸ which are made by frying even to this day.

Caraka (1st century A.D.) in his medical treatise calls fried articles *snehasiddhāḥ*.⁹ He mentions almost all the articles named above. The preparation of *śaṣkuli*, which was a cake of rice flour mixed with sesamum, fried in ghee, is referred to by Patañjali¹⁰ (c. 150 B.C.). *Apūpas* and *vaṣaka* are mentioned in the Dharmasūtras (B.C. 600—B.C. 300).¹¹

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 78, f.n.

² *ibid.*, p. 78, f.n.

³ *ibid.*, p. 65, f.n.

⁴ Suśruta. Su. 46, Bhakṣyavarga.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ Suśruta. Su. 46. 357.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ Āṅgavijjā, p. 182.

⁹ Caraka. Su. 27. 269.

¹⁰ Patañjali I. 1.47.

¹¹ F.D.A.I., p. 37, f.n. 3.

Pāṇini (c. 500 B.C.) mentions two 'sweet preparations *Apūpa*¹ and *saṁyāva*² which imply a full acquaintance with the process of frying. The history of *Apūpa* goes back to the time of the Ṛg-veda (c. 1500 B.C.).³ But *Apūpa* also means an ordinary cake baked on charcoals or in an oven. In this connection it may be mentioned that in the Ṛg-veda the word *gṛtavantam*⁴ and in the Atharvaveda the epithet *madhumān*⁵ are used with *Apūpa* which imply that clarified butter and honey were used in its preparation. As such it is clear that in both these works the word *apūpa* means a sweet cake of rice or barley meal fried in ghee on a slow fire and not ordinary cakes in which no frying is required.

In view of the above evidence there remains no ground for any doubt about the statement that the Indians were fully acquainted with the process of frying from the earliest times and there seems no justification for holding the view that the process of frying was introduced into India by the Muslims.

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 36, f.n. 1.

² F.D.A.I., p. 41, f.n. 4.

³ F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 9 and 10.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 1.

APPENDIX II

SUGAR INDUSTRY IN ANCIENT INDIA

Ikṣu, the common word for sugar-cane is not mentioned in the Rg-veda but Śrī B. Majumdar is of opinion that *kusara*¹ refers to sugarcane. *Ikṣu* is, however, mentioned in all the Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda² and chewing of sugarcane is referred to in the Atharvaveda.³ But there is no mention of *gūḍa* and the sweetening ingredient seems to have been honey. It is possible that the process of making *gūḍa* was known to the Proto-Australoids and the Aryans learnt it from them.⁴

By the time of the Sūtras *gūḍa* loses its exotic nature. It is used in all the domestic rituals.⁵ Pāṇini mentions not only *gūḍa*⁶ but also *Phāṇita*⁷ (inspissated juice of sugarcane boiled down to thick consistency, Hindi—*rāb*) and *Sarkarā*⁸ (sugar). He derives the word *Gauḍa* from *gūḍa* which makes us infer that the industry probably first developed mostly in Bengal where sugarcane was grown. In the early Buddhist canonical works the use of *gūḍa* is permitted⁹ to the followers of the Buddha and it is stated that rice meal and ashes were used in preparing it.¹⁰

The Europeans were ignorant of sugarcane production. Alexander was surprised to see reeds from which 'the barbarians across the Indus' obtained all the honey they wanted.¹¹ Kautīlya mentions not only *phāṇita* and *gūḍa* but also sugarcandy (*maṣyaṇḍikā*), raw sugar (*khanda*) and granulated sugar (*sarkarā*).¹² In the epics we come across *sarkarā*¹³ as well as sweets prepared both from *gūḍa*¹⁴ and *khanda*.¹⁵ But in the ritual *gūḍa* continued to be used because in the words of Prof. J.C. Ray 'the old in

¹ Rv. I., 191. 3. See F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 4.

² F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 5.

³ Av. I., 34.5. See F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 6.

⁴ F.D.A.I., p. 3.

⁵ F.D.A.I., p. 41.

⁶ India as known to Pāṇini, p. 109.

⁷ F.D.A.I., p. 68, f.n. 5 and 6.

^{11,12} F.D.A.I., p. 91, f.n. 7.

¹³ F.D.A.I., p. 112, f.n. 4.

¹⁴ F.D.A.I., p. 112, f.n. 3.

¹⁵ F.D.A.I., p. 112, f.n. 6.

all countries hold their sway even when better substitutes are known.¹

In the time of Caraka two varieties of sugar-cane *Paundraka* and *Vamśaka*² were known. Of these the former was considered better than the latter.³ The *Paundraka* variety was probably grown in Puṇḍra country (North Bengal). This is also evident from the statement of Raviṣeṇa that the *Paundraka* variety was grown near Rajagṛha.⁴ Caraka describes all the products mentioned by Kauṭilya.⁵ He states that the coolness of these substances increases with the increase in their whiteness.⁶ Thus according to him *Sarkarā* is the coolest of all. He also mentions sugars prepared from *yavāsa* (a kind of grass) and honey.⁷

Kāśyapa mentions a third variety of sugarcane and calls it *Sāmudra* which he considers inferior to the other two.⁸ In the *Suśruta Samhitā* the number of varieties of sugar-cane reaches twelve⁹ but the most famous varieties were probably only five which have been mentioned by Vāgbhaṭa I.¹⁰ *Suśruta* also mentions sugar prepared from *Madhūka* flowers.¹¹ In the *Harṣa-carita* a distinction is made between red (*pāṭala*) and white (*karka*) sugar,¹² which shows that the industry had fully developed early in the seventh century and all the products of sugarcane were in use. The Persian and the English words for sugar *kand* and *candy* seem to be derivations of the Sanskrit word *khaṇḍa*. In view of the above facts it may not be unjustifiable to conclude this account with the words of Watt 'that the world is indebted to India'¹³ for this industry.

¹ 'Sugar Industry in India' by Prof. J. C. Ray in the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. IV. No. 4. (1918).

² Caraka. Su. 27.237.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ Jain Padma Purāṇa, Ch. II.

⁵ Caraka. Su. 27. 237-241.

⁶ Caraka. Su. 27.239.

⁷ Caraka. Su. 27. 240-241.

⁸ F.D.A.I., p. 144, f.n. 1.

⁹ F.D.A.I., p. 143, f.n. 8.

¹⁰ F.D.A.I., p. 178, f.n. 8.

¹¹ F.D.A.I., p. 144, f.n. 5.

¹² F.D.A.I., p. 179, f.n. 2.

¹³ Dicy. of Eco. Products of India, Vol. VI (ii), pp. 28-36.

APPENDIX III

BETEL CHEWING IN ANCIENT INDIA

On the basis of philological studies scholars¹ think that the two words *tāmbūla* (betel leaves) and *guvāka* (areca nut) are of Austric origin hence it seems likely that the Proto-Australoids first used these articles. Another word *Pūga* (areca nut) seems to be of Dravidian origin. There are two possibilities either the custom originated on the coasts of Southern India or it must have been imported from the East Indian Archipelago where the custom is prevalent to this day. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products of India (Vol. VI(i) pp. 247-256) the betel leaf is probably a native of Java. Sri J.S. Pade thinks that the word *nāga-valli* used for a betel leaf may signify the creeper growing in the country of elephants and serpents and perhaps refers to South India, the home of these creatures.² But the problem remains unsolved for want of evidence.

There is no reference to *tāmbūla* in the Vedic Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras. Even the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Smṛtis of Manu and Yājñavalkya make no mention of it. This conclusively proves that the custom was not prevalent among the Vedic Aryans.

According to Dr. K.A.N. Sastri the habit of eating betel leaves with lime and areca nut perhaps came into use after the Sangam Age.³ But the custom may be prior to 200 B.C. as there are references to it in some of the early Buddhist and Jain works.⁴

Kauṭilya mentions betel nut⁵ but does not refer to the custom of betel chewing. Caraka, Kāśyapa and Suśruta refer to the practice and Caraka mentions all the ingredients used in the

¹ F.D.A.I., pp. 2-3.

Cf. 'The Romance of Betel chewing in Poison Damsels and other Essays' by N.M. Penzer London, 1952, p. 189 quoted by Sri J.S. Pade.

² Introduction to *Tāmbūla Mañjarī* Journal of Oriental Institute (M.S. University Baroda Oriental Series), Vol. VII, 1957-58.

³ A History of South India, p. 130.

⁴ Jatakas No. 51 and 52. Visuddhimagga, p. 314. Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā, p. 49. Aupapātika Sūtra, Section 38, p. 50.

⁵ F.D.A.I., p. 96, f.n. 1.

preparation of betel leaves such as areca nut, cubeb-pepper, camphor, cloves, nutmegs and cardamom.¹

In the Gupta period the custom seems to have become common as it is mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra*, the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, the medical treatises and the literary works of the period.²

In the Post—Gupta period the practice is referred to by Alberuni and in the *Kuṭṭanīmatam* and most of the literary works of the period.³ It is also mentioned in the later *Smṛtis*.⁴

The custom may be a Tāntric one. Sri J.S. Pade thinks that it was prevalent among the *Sūdras* from the earliest times but was adopted by the *Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* when they gave up Vedic *Samśkāras* and were initiated by the *Brāhmaṇas* into the Tāntric cult.⁵ According to Sri Pade, since then the use of *Tāmbūla* became popular among all sections of the Hindu society.

¹ F.D.A.L., p. 162, f.n. 5.

² F.D.A.L., p. 196, f.n. 3 to 5.

³ F.D.A.L., p. 232, f.n. 5 and p. 233, f.n. 1 and 2.

⁴ *Smṛtis* of *Laghuhārta*, *Laghu Āśvalāyana* and *Auśānasa*.

⁵ See p. 253, f.n. (2).

APPENDIX IV

SMOKING IN ANCIENT INDIA

Before writing on this subject I should like to make it clear that the word smoking is not used here in the restricted and limited sense which it has acquired in our times for the smoking of tobacco, as we know that it was introduced into India by the Portuguese about 1600 A.D. In our ancient past we had other means and better ingredients, far more fragrant and health-giving, which gave the fullest satisfaction to the smoker not only without injuring his health but also improving it. Almost all the ancient Indian medical works give recipes of ingredients used in smoking.¹ In Bāṇa's Kādambarī, King Śūdraka is represented as smoking a fragrant cigar-like preparation.² Dāmodaragupta who wrote about a century later, gives us a picture of a lady who takes her seat near her lover after enjoying a smoke of the same kind.³

Of *Dhūmavartīs*, as these cigar-like preparations are called in our books, the medical works mention five types :—the ordinary *Prāyogikī* which was meant for daily use and four others which were used to cure certain ailments.⁴ The *Prāyogikivartī* consisted of aromatic ingredients like cardamom, saffron, sandal wood, aloewood and *uśīra*. To these were added resin and the nicely cut thin barks of trees like the banyan and the *pīpal* all of which are known to burn very quickly and have some fragrance of their own. The resulting mixture was then ground finely, made into a paste and coated on a hollow reed nearly six inches long which when dried had the thickness of a thumb. The reed was removed when dried and the resulting cigar like *vartī* was

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 163, f.n. 3 and p. 197, f.n. 3, Kāśyapa Kalpa Dhūpa 4. Suśruta Cikitsā 40. 1-18.

Ast. Hrd. Su. 21. 13-15.

² F.D.A.I., p. 197, f.n. 1.

³ F.D.A.I., p. 197, f.n. 3.

⁴ धूपः पञ्चविधो भवति तद्यथा प्रायोगिकः स्नेहिको, वैरेचनिकः, कासघ्नो, वायवीय-
श्चेति ।

smearred with clarified butter before use. It yielded one of the most agreeable smokes.¹

Many are the virtues ascribed to smoking. It soothed the nerves, put the smoker in a cheerful mood, strengthened his teeth and hair and sweetened his breath. It cured also cough, asthma, headache, eyesore, bad throat, pain in the ear, laziness and many other diseases caused by imbalance of wind and phlegm.² Would not even the advertiser of some modern brand of a cigar envy the description of the *Dhūmavartī* smoked by Sūdraka and his contemporaries.

Some modern people are chain smokers. There might have been many such in ancient India for one medical writer found it necessary to state that smoking, indulged in excessively or at wrong times could lead to ill health.³ It was good to smoke after bath, meals, cleaning the teeth, and getting up from bed.⁴ It was good also to have this fragrant smoke after vomiting, sneezing, application of collyrium or smelling a snuff powder.⁵ It was prescribed that a person who has taken a purgative, who has been poisoned, a pregnant woman, a person in grief or a person very tired or intoxicated, one who has kept awake all night or an unconscious person should avoid smoking. Smoking was also to be avoided after the taking of liquor, milk, oils, honey or rice with curds. One should also avoid smoking when one is in anger, when one's throat is dry, or when one is suffering from diseases like diphtheria.⁶

The proper method of smoking is also prescribed. A person while smoking should sit with his body erect and in a comfortable position. He should take three puffs at a time.⁷ He should inhale the smoke with his mouth and nostrils but should exhale it only through the nostrils.⁸

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 163, f.n. 3. C.f. *Suśruta Cikitsā* 40.3.
Ast. Hrd. Su. 21. 13-15.

² Caraka. Su. 5. 25-31. *Suśruta Cikitsā* 40.15-16.

³ Caraka. Su. 5. 36-37.

⁴ Caraka. Su. 5. 36.

⁵ Caraka. Su. 5. 34. 35.

⁶ Caraka. Su. 5. 39-44.

⁷ *Ibid.* Su. 5. 46-47. *Suśruta Cikitsā* 40.18.

⁸ *Suśruta Cikitsā* 40.7.

It is difficult to say when the practice of smoking first started in India. It is not found in the Vedic literature and the Śmṛtis. The earliest references are found in the medical works, the compilation of some of which took place at the courts of foreign rulers like Kaniṣka. So it is not unlikely that the type of smoking referred to in these pages was also a foreign innovation and that later on the Indians took quite naturally and quickly to tobacco smoking also because of their earlier habits. In the vicinity of the Hindukush mountain from where probably smoking reached India, smoking of the type described, is even now regarded as something having almost mystic properties which can bring about a state of trance. After such a smoke, the medium is believed to get into touch with spirits and the supernatural world.¹

¹ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, New York, 1951.

APPENDIX V

A SHORT NOTE ON 'Sthāli' (a cooking pot)

Sthāli is one of the utensils which Indians have been using at least since the time of the Yajurveda.¹ Dr. B.N. Puri has in his recent publication 'India in the time of Patañjali' p. 100 explained the word as a 'a big earthen dish or pan now known as *tbāli*'. It would be seen from the following references that the word all along has the sense of a cooking utensil. In the *Mānasollāsa* it is mentioned at two places and at both the places it is used for cooking meat.² In the *Amarakośa* *sthāli* is given as a synonym of *piṭhara* and *ukhā* which are both cooking utensils.³

In the *Daśakumāra-carita* a girl asks her companions to bring a *sthāli* from the market for cooking rice for a guest.⁴ In the *Nalapākadarpaṇa* a *sthāli* is used for boiling rice.⁵ In the epics a *sthāli* is said to have a neck and is used for cooking vegetables and other food articles and storing liquids such as curds.⁶

¹ Vaj. Sam. XIX. 27, 86. Av. VIII. 6.17.

² सुतप्ते च घृते पश्चाल्लक्षुनं हिङ्गुना सह ।
प्रक्षिप्य संस्कृतं मांसं तस्यां स्थाल्यां प्रवेशयेत् ।
पिहितं च ततः कुर्यात् किञ्चित्कालं प्रतीक्ष्य च ।
उत्तारयेत्ततः सिद्धं

Manas. III. 1460.61.

अनेनैव प्रकारेण जर्जरीकृत्य खण्डकान् ।
स्थाल्यामम्लेन संयोज्य पाचयेद्विङ्गुनासह ।

Manas. III. 1466.

³ पिठरः स्थाल्युखाकुण्डम् कलशस्तुत्रिपुटयोः ।

Amar. III. 9.31.

⁴ मितपचांस्थालीमुभेशरावे चाहुर इति ।

Daśakumāracarita VI. p. 423.

⁵ क्षालयेत्तान् बुधः सम्यगीयदुष्णेन वारिणा ।
शुद्धोदकं पुनःस्थाल्यां पूर्येत्तान्निभागिकम् ।
चुल्यामारोपयेत् स्थालीं पूरितां पाककोविदः ।

Nalapakadarpaṇa. p. 6.

⁶ स्थाल्याः कण्ठेऽथसंलग्नं शाकान्नं बीक्ष्यकेशवः ।

Mbh. Van. 263. 24.

पानीणां च सहस्राणि स्थालीनां नियुतानि च ।
न्यर्मुदानि च पात्राणि शातकुम्भमयानि च ।
स्थाल्यः कुम्भ्यः करंभ्यश्च दधि पूर्णाः सुसंस्कृताः ।

Ram. Ay. 91. 71-72.

In the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads and the Sūtras the word *sthālipāka* has very often been used and means any food article cooked in a *sthāli*.¹

In view of all these references in the classical as well as Vedic literature it seems almost certain that *sthāli* has the sense of a cooking utensil even in Patañjali. This interpretation is also supported by the phrase *sthālipulākanyāya* which means just as we know about the quality of rice cooked in a *sthāli* by taking out one grain of boiled rice from it so do we judge the whole by its part.

¹ यस्या मेवस्थाल्यां प्रायणीयं निर्वपेत्स्यानुदयनीयं निर्वपेत् ।

Ait. Bra. I. 11.

अथानिमित्तरेव स्थालीपाकाकृताज्यं श्रेष्ठित्वा स्थालीपाकस्योपघातं जुहोत्यग्नये...
स्वाहेति हुत्वोद्दृत्य प्राश्नाति ।

Brhad. Up. VI. 4.19.

उत्पूतेन नववीतेनानुष्पूतेन वा सपिषा स्थालीपाकमभिधार्य एकं स्यात्वां मेक्षणमासाद्य
स्थालीपाकमासादयति ।

Ap. Sr. Su. I. 3. 7.8.

अस्तमिते स्थालीपाकं अपयित्वं ककपालं भवन्तुतः स्यात् ।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.5.

कृत्वा रः स्थालीपाकः ।

Kbadir. Gr. Su. II. 226.

तित्तमुद्गं मिश्र ॐ स्थालीपाकं अपयित्वा ।

Par. Gr. Su. I. 15.4.

आज्यं स्थालीपाकीयान् ग्रीहीन् वा यवान् वा चरुस्थाली मेक्षणं सूयमनुगृह्णात अपहति ।

Gobhila Gr. Su. I. 5.20.

APPENDIX VI

NOTES ABOUT THE ANTIQUITY OF SOME ARTICLES OF FOOD IN INDIA

A. Cereals.

1. *Akṣṭhaka*. (Knod Kuttu)—The earliest mention is in the Sūtra Kṛtāṅga.
2. *Aṇu* or *Cīnaka*. (*Panicum Miliaceum*, Hindi—*Cīnā*)—The Yajurveda and the early Buddhist works mention it. The name *Cīnaka* suggests its foreign origin. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it was imported from Egypt or Arabia.
3. *Gavidhukā*. (Corn Lacryma, Hindi—*Garabedhā*)—The Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda show that it was used as a food grain. According to Āpastamba it was an uncultivated grain, hence it seems indigenous.
4. *Godhūma*. (*Triticum vulgare*, Hindi—*Gebun*)—De Candolle thinks that wheat was grown in Mesopotamia from Pre-historic times. Dr. K.P. Jayaswal was of opinion that it was imported from Persia as the Sanskrit word *Godhūma* seems to be a modification the Persian word *Gandum*. But Sylvan Levy thinks that the Aryans came into India with a knowledge of wheat. However, as the word *Godhūma* is not mentioned in the Ṛg-veda it seems that it was not the staple food grain of the Aryans. Vevilov came to the conclusion that wheat originated from a centre near the Punjab. It has been identified in the Indus valley as well as Nevada Toli which shows that it has been in use from about 2500 B.C. if not earlier. But it continued to be exotic with the Aryans for a long time. In the Sūtras, the daily offerings are made with rice and barley and not wheat. Even the medical treatise of Caraka mentions two varieties of wheat among the inferior cereals. Even Dhanvantari calls it the food of the Mlecchas. But it seems to have become popular by the time of Kṣīrasvāmī.
5. *Hāyana*. A red variety of rice mentioned in the Yajurveda.
6. *Jūṇa*. (*Holcus Sorghum*, Hindi—*Juār*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it was imported from Tropical Africa.

The medical works of Caraka, Bhela and Kāśyapa mention it for the first time. The name *Yāvanāla* makes it probable that it may have been introduced by the Greeks. (For details please see Dr. Gode's article).

7. *Kaṇṇu*. (*Setaria italica* Hindi—*Kaṇṇu*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it is probably indigenous. The Sāmhita of the Yajurveda mention *Priyaṇṇu*. A dark variety with large grains is called *Varaka* (*Phaseolus Trilobus*) by Kauṭilya. The Sūśruta mentions four varieties black, red, yellow and white. Probably the brown variety is called *Kuruvinda* by Caraka.

8. *Kodrava*. (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*, Hindi—*Kodon*)—Kauṭilya mentions it among the grains of the first crop. It was considered a sacred grain hence it seems to be indigenous. A wild variety of *Kodrava* is called *Dāraka* by Kauṭilya and *Uddālaka* by Caraka.

9. *Nivāra*. (Wild rice, Hindi—*Tinnī*)—It is a *trṇa dhānya* and is mentioned in the Yajurveda. Apastamba calls it an uncultivated grain and it is considered a sacred grain hence it seems to be indigenous. Two varieties *dārunivāra* and *Prasāntikā* are mentioned.

10. *Rālaka*. (*Mālakanganī* in Hindi)—Two varieties, one black and the other yellow, are mentioned in the Aṅgavijjā.

11. *Sāli*. (*Oryza sativa*, Hindi—*Cāvaḥ*)—a kind of rice growing in winter which is replanted and called *Jaḍaban*. It is mentioned by Pāṇini.

12. *Ṣaṣṭika*. (Hindi—*Sāṣhi*)—A variety of rice mentioned by Pāṇini which took sixty days to ripen. It is probably the *āśudbhānya* of the Yajurveda.

13. *Syāmāka*. (*Panicum frumentaceum*, Hindi—*Samā*)—It is mentioned in the Sāmhita of the Yajurveda. Apastamba calls it an uncultivated grain hence it seems to be indigenous. It was used by hermits. We come across two varieties *Rājasyāmāka* and *Ambbaḥ-Syāmāka* or *toya syāmāka*. A third variety *Hastī-syāmāka* is mentioned by Vagbhata I.

14. *Upavāka*. (*Wrightia antidysenterica*, Hindi—*Indrayau*)—At the time of the compilation of the Yajurveda it was used in preparing a gruel. It is later called *Indrayava* and *Kaliṅga*. The latter name shows that it was mainly grown in Kaliṅga (Orissa region).

15. *Venuyava*. (Seeds of bamboo, Hindi—*Bāns ke bija*)—have been used as food from the time of Āpastamba who calls it an uncultivated food grain.

16. *Vrihi*. (*Oryza sativa*, Hindi—*Cāval*)—De Condelle thought the grain to have originated in South India. Vevilov also holds more or less a similar view. Dr. S.K. Chatterji thinks that the word *Vrihi* has Iranian affinities but the common word for rice *Cāval* in Indo-Aryan languages might be very well connected with the Kolor Munda root 'Jom' to eat. The word '*taṇḍula*' for husked rice also seems to be of Austric origin. The probability is that it was introduced by the Proto-Australoids. There is no definite evidence to show that it was grown in the Indus valley and the word is not mentioned in the Ṛg-veda but is mentioned in the Yajurveda. The grain has been identified at Maheshwar Nevda Toli and rice husk was used in mud plaster at Hastināpur. The Greek word *Oryza* is from the Tamil word *Arisi* and we know that it was exported to Babylon in the 6th century B.C. It had become the staple food of the Indians before the beginning of the Christian era. Its wide popularity is evident from a number of varieties mentioned in the Saṁhitās of Caraka and Suśruta. Suśruta gives the following 39 varieties of rice :—

I—*Sāli rice*

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>Lobita Sāli</i> | 10. <i>Sitabbhruka</i> |
| 2. <i>Kalama</i> | 11. <i>Rodbrapuspaka</i> |
| 3. <i>Kardamaka</i> | 12. <i>Dirghasūka</i> |
| 4. <i>Pāṇḍuka</i> | 13. <i>Kāñcanaka</i> |
| 5. <i>Sugandbaka</i> | 14. <i>Mahiṣa</i> |
| 6. <i>Sakunābhṛta</i> | 15. <i>Mahāsūka</i> |
| 7. <i>Puspāṇḍaka</i> | 16. <i>Hāyanaka</i> |
| 8. <i>Puṇḍarika</i> | 17. <i>Dāśaka</i> |
| 9. <i>Mahāsāli</i> | 18. <i>Mahādūṣaka</i> |

II—*Vrihi rice*

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 19. <i>Kṛṣṇavrihi</i> | 24. <i>Tvaritaka</i> |
| 20. <i>Sālāmukha</i> | 25. <i>Kukkuṭaṇḍaka</i> |
| 21. <i>Jarumukha</i> | 26. <i>Pārāvataka</i> |
| 22. <i>Nandimukha</i> | 27. <i>Pāṭala</i> |
| 23. <i>Lāvākṣaka</i> | |

III—*Śaṣṭika rice*

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 28. <i>Śaṣṭika</i> | 34. <i>Asana</i> |
| 29. <i>Kāṅguka</i> | 35. <i>Puṣṭaka</i> |
| 30. <i>Mukandaka</i> | 36. <i>Mabāśaṣṭika</i> |
| 31. <i>Pitaka</i> | 37. <i>Cūrṇaka</i> |
| 32. <i>Pramodaka</i> | 38. <i>Kuravāka</i> |
| 33. <i>Kākalaka</i> | 39. <i>Kedāra</i> |

For the varieties of rice given by Caraka please see F.D.A.I., P. 134.

17. *Yava*. (*Hordeum Vulgare*, Hindi—*Jau*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it has been grown in India from very remote times. It has been identified in the Indus valley and was the staple food grain of the Ṛgvedic Aryans. A wild variety is mentioned by Pāṇini and Pliny. Kauṭilya calls it *Yavaka* probably it may be identified with oats. A large variety is called *atīyava* by Sūśruta. Unripe green grains of barley are called *tokma*.

B. *Pulses*.

1. *Aḍbaki*. (*Cajanus indicus*, Hindi—*Arabar*)—The grain has been identified at Maheshwar Nevada Toli (1200 B.C.) but is mentioned for the first time by Caraka. It is also called *Tuvari*. The Mānasollāsa calls the dark variety *Kṛṣṇāḍbaki*.

2. *Alisaṇḍaga* (a variety of chickpea, Hindi—*maṭar*)—According to Sylvan Levi it was a grain which was grown in Alexandria and was introduced into India after Alexander's invasion. Caraka and early Jain canonical works mention it.

3. *Caṇaka*. (*Cicer arietinum*, Hindi—*canā*)—Dr. G. P. Majumdar on the basis of Mahidhara has interpreted *Khalva*, which occurs in the Yajurveda, as *Caṇaka*. On the other hand Dr. P. K. Gode is of opinion that the grain was probably introduced into the Panjab by the Greeks sometime between (B.C. 190—A.D. 20). According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it originated from the south of the Caucasus or of the Caspian Sea. It was grown in Egypt from very early times. The earliest mention in Indian literature is in the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Baudh. Gr. Śesa. Sūtra. In the time of Amarasimha it was mainly used as food for horses. Dr. Sankalia thinks that the grain has been identified at Maheshwar Nevada Toli (1200 B.C.). If it be a fact the theory of Dr. Gode cannot hold water.

4. *Garmut*. (Wild bean, Hindi-*Kulatbi*)—is mentioned in the Samhitas of the Yajurveda and was used as a pulse.

5. *Kalāya*. (*Pisum arvens*, Hindi-*Matar*)—Charred Peas from Harappa are thought to be of a cultivated variety. The grain has also been discovered at Maheshwar Nevada Toli (1200 B.C.). According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products the grain originated from Italy but existed in India before the arrival of the Aryans. It is mentioned in early Buddhist literature and Kauṭilya. We come across three varieties *Satīna*, *Khaṇḍikā* and *Hareṇu*. *Khaṇḍikā* is also called *Tripuṣaka* (Hindi-*Khesari*). Someśvara calls it *Vaṭṭānaka*.

6. *Kulattha*. (*Delichos biflorus*, Hindi-*Kulatbi*)—The word '*Kbalakula*' is mentioned in the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad. It is interpreted as *Kulattha* by Dr. G.P. Majumdar. Probably *Garmut* also means *Kulattha* as the former is regarded as an uncultivated grain by Āpastamba. Hence it seems to be indigenous. Pāṇini mentions *Kulattha* for the first time. Suśruta also mentions a wild variety, *vanya Kulattha*.

7. *Makuṣṭha*. (*Phaseolus aconitifolius*, Hindi-*Moṭh*)—Āpastamba probably calls it *Mārkaṭaka* which was an uncultivated grain. The earliest mention of *Makuṣṭha* is in the Tait. Bra. It is also called *Vana mudga*.

8. *Māṣa*. (*Phaseolus Radiatus*, Hindi-*Urad*)—It has been discovered at Maheshwar Nevada Toli (1200 B.C.) and has been mentioned in the Yajurveda. A taboo against its use is found in the Samhitās which makes us conclude that it was originally used by non-Aryans. Suśruta mentions a wild variety, *aranya māṣa*. Kṣīrasvāmī interprets *Kulmāṣa* in the sense of an inferior variety of *Māṣa* in addition to the usual meaning of the word, a gruel.

9. *Masūra*. (*Lens esculenta*, Hindi-*Masūra*)—It has been in use from the time of the Yajurveda. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it originated from Egypt or Europe. The prohibition against its use in a *Srāddha* shows its exotic nature. Suśruta mentions a variety called *Māṃgalya*.

10. *Mudga*. (*Phaseolus Mungo*, Hindi-*Mūṅg*)—A very important pulse from the time of the Yajurveda. Vagbhata II mentions a black variety, *Kṛṣṇa Mudga* and a large variety called

Mahāmudga probably *rājamudga* of Someśvara. But the green variety was considered the best.

11. *Niṣpāva*. (Carnavali ensiformis, Hindi-*Bhaṭabāns*)—Sāyaṇa interprets *Khulva* as *niṣpāva*. The earliest mention of *niṣpāva* is in the Caraka Samhitā.

12. *Rājamāṣa*. (Vignocajang, Hindi-*rājamā*)—Possibly Kauṭilya calls it *Simbi* but the word *Rājamāṣa* is first used by Caraka. It was considered exotic hence its use is prohibited in a *Śrāddha*. The Hindi word *Lobiā* is from the Greek word 'Lobos'.

C. Oilseeds.

1. *Atasi*. (Linum usitatissimum, linseed, Hindi-*Alsi*)—Kauṭilya, Aṅgavijjā and the early Jain cononical works mention it.

2. *Eraṇḍa*. (Castor seed, Ricinus communis, Hindi-Araṇḍa)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it is probably indigenous. Kauṭilya calls it *Hastikarṇa* but the word *eraṇḍa* is used even in the Sankh. Āraṇyaka (XII 8). It is also mentioned by Caraka. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products Vol. VI (i) p. 518 it is wild in Africa and S. Asia.

3. *Ingudi*. (Ximenia acgyptiaca, Hindi-*Hingot*)—It is mentioned by Pāṇini (IV 3.164) and Kauṭilya. The oil was used by hermits for their lamps.

4. *Kusumbha*. (Carthamus tinctorius Safflower, Hindi-*Kasūma*)—The earliest mention is by Kauṭilya. The oil extracted from it is considered the worst by Vāgbhaṭa I.

5. *Rājikā*. (Brassica Juncea, Hindi-*rāi*)—A species of brassica which was grown in the Indus Valley. It seems to have been used by the non-Aryans, as Amarasiṃha calls it suitable for Asuras. It was known to Kauṭilya. A variety of *rājikā* is called *baja* in the Atharvaveda.

6. *Sarṣapa*. (Brassica Campestri, Hindi-*Sarson*)—It is mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and Sūtras. The white variety (Brassica alba) was considered good as it is called *Siddhārtha*. The red variety was also known to Kauṭilya. The Aṅgavijjā mentions a variety called *rāja sarṣapa*. Huen Tsang noted that mustard oil was in common use.

7. *Tila*. (Sesamum indicum, Hindi-*Til*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. VI (ii) p. 510) it was originally

a native of Africa but was brought to India before the advent of the Aryans. A lump of charred sesamum was discovered in the Indus region. The word is used in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda. It was used both as an article of food and for extracting oil. But it seems that in the beginning it was used mainly by the non-Aryans. It is probably the earliest oil seed in India as the word 'Tila' is derived from it. A wild variety called *Jartila* is mentioned in the Tait. Sam. (V. 4.32). Three varieties of sesamum white, red and black are mentioned in the Aṅgavijjā. Caraka considers *Tila* oil to be the best of all the oils.

D. Fruits.

1. *Abbiṣuka*. (Hindi-*Cilgozā*)—It is mentioned by Caraka and other writers on medicine. Dalhaṇa explains it as a nut obtained from the northern regions.

2. *Aiṅguda*. (Hindi-*Hingof*)—It is mentioned by Caraka.

3. *Airāvata*. Same as *nāraṅga* mentioned by Caraka.

4. *Akṣikīphala*. (Beleric myrobalan, Hindi-*Babedā*)—mentioned by Caraka—see *Vibhītaka*.

5. *Akṣoṭa*. (Walnut, Hindi-*Akbarof*)—It is mentioned by Caraka and later medical works.

6. *Āmalaka*. (Emblie Myrobalan, Hindi-*Āmalā*)—It is mentioned in the Jaim. Up. Br. (I.38.6), Chand Up. VII.3.1 and Kaut. (II 1519). The medical works regard it as one of the good fruits.

7. *Amlavetasa*. (Common Sorrel, Hindi-*Amalvent*)—It is mentioned by Caraka among sour fruits.

8. *Amlikā*. (Tamarind, Hindi-*Imālī*)—Caraka and other medical works mention it among sour fruits. It is also called *Ciñcāphala* which word appears to be of Dravidian origin. The Dicy. of Eco. Products states that it is indigenous in Africa.

9. *Āmra*. (Mangifera Indica, Hindi-*Ām*)—From his study based on philology, archaeology and historical evidence De Candolle (1883) proved that mango originated in South Asia (Maluccas or Malay Archipelago) and Vevilov confirmed this view. Mukerjee (1951) came to the conclusion that mango originated in Indo-Burma and Indo-China region where about 33 species are found even to-day. The fruit is mentioned in the Bṛhad. Up. and by Pāṇini. Kauṭilya also mentions *Cāta*. It is

also called *rasāla* and *Sabakāra*. A green mango fruit is called *Kośāmra* in the medical works.

10. *Āmrātaka*. (*Spondias mangifera*, *Hogplum*, Hindi-*Āmḍa*)—mentioned by Caraka, *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* and early Jain canonical works.

11. *Ānikoṣa*. (*Alangium*, Hindi-*Ānikoṣa*)—mentioned by Caraka. *Amara* gives *Nikocaka* as a synonym.

12. *Āruka*. (*Bokhara plum?*, Hindi-*Ālubukhārā*)—mentioned by Caraka.

13. *Āruṣkara*. (*Marking-nut*, Hindi-*Bhilāvā*)—It is mentioned by *Suśruta*. It is called *Bhallātaka*, by Caraka.

14. *Āsmantaka*. (Hindi-*Āsanta*, a kind of *Kacanār*)—mentioned by *Suśruta*. It is also called *Sapbarī*.

15. *Āsvakarna*. (*Sal* Hindi-*Sakbivā*)—mentioned by *Suśruta*. It was grown in the eastern regions.

16. *Āsvattha*. (*Ficus Religio*, Hindi-*Pīpal*)—mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 3.48).

17. *Badara*. (*Zizyphus Sp.*, Hindi-*Ber*)—It is mentioned in the *Yajurveda* and Pāṇini and is a large sized jujube. Kautilya and the medical works invariably mention it among Indian fruits.

18. *Bakula*. (*Mimusops Elengi*, Hindi-*Maulsiri*)—It is mentioned by *Suśruta* and later medical works.

19. *Bhallātaka*. Same as *Āruṣkara*.

20. *Bhavya*. (*Dillenia Indica*, Hindi-*Kamarakeb?*)—It is mentioned by Caraka and other medical works. Also see *Kāmaranṅa*.

21. *Bilva*. (*Aegle marmelos*, Hindi-*Bel*)—It is mentioned in the *Yajurveda*, the *Atharvaveda*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works.

22. *Bimbi*. (*Cephalandia indica*, Hindi-*Kandāri*)—It is mentioned in the *Jaim. Up. Brā.* (III. 5.6).

23. *Cīnāni*. (Peaches.)—According to Yuan Chwang the fruit was introduced into India by the Chinese.

24. *Ciñcā*. (*tamarind*, Hindi-*Imali*)—The word seems to be of Dravidian origin. Also see *Amlikā*.

25. *Dādima*. (*Punica granatum*, *Pomegranate*, Hindi-*Anār*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin but according to the *Dicy. of Economic Products* (Vol. VII (i) p. 369) it is wild in Persia and Afghanistan. The tree forms on the utensils sug-

gest the existence of the fruit in the Indus Valley. Caraka and other medical works consider it a good fruit. Vagbhata I mentions two varieties one sour and the other sweet.

26. *Dantaśaṭha*. Same as *Jambīra*.

27. *Dhanvana*. (Hindi-*Dhāmana*)—mentioned by Suśruta.

28. *Drākṣā*. Same as *Mṛdvikā*.

29. Fig. (Hindi-*Anjīr*)—It was imported into India from Afghanistan and Persia.

(See Dr. P.K. Gode's Article. According to him it is not mentioned in the early medical works.)

30. *Gāṁgeruka*. It is first mentioned by Caraka. Probably same as *Nāgabala*.

31. *Jambīra*. (Citrus Lemonum—Hindi-*Jambīri nibū*)—It is mentioned in the Yajurveda but an ear ornament suggests its presence in the Indus Valley. It is mentioned in all the medical works and was very popular when Yuan Chwang visited India.

32. *Jambū*. (*Eugenia Jambalana*, Hindi-*Jāmun*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin. It is mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 3.165) and Kauṭilya.

33. *Kadali*. (*Musa Sapientum* plantain, Hindi-*Kelā*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin. It was probably grown in the Indus Valley but there is a general unanimity among the Botanists that banana is native of India. It is mentioned by Kauṭilya and in the early medical works.

34. *Kalinda*. (Water melon)—The word seems to be of Austric origin. The fruit was grown in the Indus Valley. It is mentioned by Vagbhata II. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products the fruit originated from Tropical Africa. It was cultivated by Ancient Egyptians. (II, p. 332).

35. *Kāmarāṅga*. (*Dillenia Indica*, Hindi-*Kamarakb*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin.

36. *Kapittha*. (*Feronica Limonia*, Hindi-*Kaitb*)—It is mentioned in the Atharvaveda (IV 4.8) and the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.

37. *Karcūra*. (A species of Zeoary, Hindi-*Kacūr*)—mentioned by Caraka.

38. *Karamarda*. (*Carissa Carandas* Lim., Hindi-*Karaundā*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya among sour fruits.

39. *Karañja*. (Indian beech fruit—Smooth leaved *Ponginia*)—mentioned by Caraka.

40. *Karira*. (*Cappris aphylla*, Hindi—*Babūla ki tenti*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda.

41. *Karkandhu*. (*Zizyphus jujuba*—small orange—reddish brown berries, Hindi—*Jbāri ke ber*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda. The Sat. Bra. (V. 5. 4. 10) also mentions the two other varieties *Kwala* and *Badara*.

42. *Kaseruka*. (*Scripus Grossus*, Hindi—*Kaseru*)—mentioned by Suśruta and the Jain canonical works.

43. *Kāśmārya*. (*Gmelina Arborea*, Hindi—*Kāśmāri kā phala*) It is mentioned in the epics and by Caraka.

44. *Kbarjāra*. (*Phoenix Sylvestrus*, Hindi—*Kbajār*)—It is mentioned in the Yajurveda but the stones of dates have been found in the Indus Valley.

45. *Kola* or *Kwala*. (*Zizyphus jujuba*, Hindi—*Ber*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda, Atharvaveda and Suśruta. It is an average sized soft jujube.

46. *Lakuca*. (*Artocarpus Lakucha*, Hindi—*Baḍabāl*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya. It is considered the worst fruit in the medical works.

47. *Lavali*. (*Chillie millie* or *Cicca disticha*. Hindi—*Haraphārevaḍi*)—A sour fruit mentioned by Caraka.

48. *Madbhaka*. (*Bassia Latifolia*, Hindi—*Mabūā*)—mentioned in the Atharvaveda. (I. 34.5) and by Caraka. An intoxicating drink was prepared from it.

49. *Makūlaka*. A sweet fruit growing in the north mentioned by Caraka.

50. *Mātulunga*. (*Citrus medica*, Hindi—*Bijaurā Nibū*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya among sour fruits. In the Rāmāyaṇa it is called *Bijapūraka*.

51. *Moca*. Same as *Kadali*.

52. *Mṛdvikā*. (*Vitis vinifera*, Hindi—*Angār*)—According to De Candolle its cultivation can be traced back to 4000 years, North-West India being a great centre of cultivation. Kauṭilya mentions it while Pāṇini calls it *Drākṣā* (Hindi—*Kismīś*). Caraka mentions both the words. The fruit was imported into India from the North-West. In the Bharhut railings there is the figure of an Indo-Greek king holding a bunch of grapes with a leaf attached to it (Cunningham, pp. 32-33). In the Stūpas of Sāñchi

there is a figure which holds a bunch of grapes with a wine leaf in the left hand. (Grindwedel-Buddhist Art, p. 34).

53. *Nāgarāṅga*—(*Citrus Aurantium*, orange, Hindi-*Narāṅgi*) mentioned by Caraka. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. IV, p. 472) the fruit was imported from China or Cochin China towards the beginning of the Christian era. The word *Santrā* is from a Portuguese town 'Cintre.'

54. *Nārikela*. (*Cocos nucifera*, Hindi-*Nariyal*)—The word appears to be of Austric origin. The tree forms suggest its existence in the Indus Valley. It is mentioned by Caraka and in the Ramayana. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products the tree originated in the Indian Archipelago.

55. *Nicula* (*Barringtonia acutangula*, Hindi-*Samudraphala*) mentioned by Suśruta.

56. *Nikocaka*. (*Pistachio*, Hindi-*Pistā*)—mentioned by Suśruta among dry fruits as a fruit growing in northern regions.

57. *Nimbu*. (*Citrus* sp. Hindi-*Nibā*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin but India has a rich collection of various species of *Citrus* which is obviously a native of the country.

58. *Nīpa*. (*Nauclea Kadamba*, Hindi-*Kadamba*)—mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 3.152).

59. *Nyagrodha*. (*Ficus benghalensis*, Hindi-*Bada*)—mentioned in the Ṛg-veda. It is also called *vaṭa*.

60. *Panasa*. (*Artocarpus heterophyllus*, Hindi-*Kaṭabaḥ*)—According to Burrow it was used by the Dravidians. It is mentioned by Kauṭilya.

61. *Pārāvata*. (a kind of apple, Hindi-*Pālevat*)—It is mentioned in Caraka and other medical works. It was grown in Assam.

62. *Parpaṭakīphala*. (Hindi-*Pittapāpadā*)—mentioned by Caraka.

63. *Parūṣaka*. (*Grewia asiatica*, Hindi-*Fālsā*)—mentioned in the early Buddhist canonical works and Kauṭilya. Caraka also mentions a sour *Parūṣaka*. According to the Dicy. of Economic Products the fruit is indigenous in India. (Vol. IV, p. 177).

64. *Phalgu*. (Fruit of *figus glomerata*?)—It is mentioned by Caraka. According to Dr. P. K. Gode it is not fig. (See his article.)

65. *Picu*. mentioned among the dry fruits by Suśruta. (Su. 46.187).

66. *Pilu*. (*Careya arborea*, Hindi-*Pilu*)—mentioned in the Atharvaveda. XX 135.12. and by Pāṇini.

67. *Plakṣa*. (*figus lacor*, Hindi-*Pilakṣu*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda.

68. *Priyāla*. (*Chironjia Sapida*, Hindi-*Cironji*)—mentioned in the Jātakas and the Rāmāyaṇa and by Kauṭilya.

69. *Puṣkaravartī*. mentioned by Suśruta. It was grown in the north and was also called *Āmoda*.

70. *Rājādana*. (*Mimospps Kanki*, Hindi-*Khirni*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya and Caraka. It is also called *Ksirī*.

71. *Samīphala*. (*Prospis spicigera*, Sponge tree fruit, Hindi-*Chonkara*)—mentioned by Pāṇini (V. 3. 88 and IV. 3.142.)

72. *Saphakā*. (*Trapabispinosa*, Hindi-*Singādā*)—mentioned in the Atharvaveda IV. 39.5. In the medical works it is called *Sṛṅgātaka*.

73. *Sawira*. (*zizyphus Jujube*—big jujube Hindi-*unnār*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya (II. 15.19) and Suśruta.

74. *Siñcitikāphala*. (apple, Hindi-*Seb?*)—According to Dalhaṇa it is a kind of jujube which is as big as a fist and is very sweet. It is grown in the northern regions. Caraka is the first to mention it. According to De Candolle it existed in Europe from Pre-historic times.

75. *Sitaphala*. (Custard apple, Hindi-*Sarīfā*)—The fruit has been identified among the sculptures of the Ajanta caves as well as of the Bharhut Stūpa. It is mentioned by Suśruta but according to the Dicy. of Eco Products it was introduced by the Portuguese. According to Dalhaṇa it was known as *Kāvaṇāmlikā* or *Kāśmīrāmlikā*.

76. *Slesmātaka*. (*Cordiamyk*, Hindi-*Lisodā*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya.

77. *Tālapala*. (*Barassus Flabelli formis*, Hindi-*Tād kā phala*) mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 3.165) and Kauṭilya.

78. *Tanka*. A kind of *Kapittṣa*—mentioned by Suśruta.

79. *Tauvara*. (Wild almond, Hindi-*Caulmaungra*)—mentioned by Suśruta.

80. *Tinduka*. (*Diospyros Cembryapteres*, Hindi-*Tendū*)—It is mentioned in the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works

and by Caraka. Amara. mentions a variety called *Kākatinduka*.

81. *Tintiṭika*. Same as *Ciñcā*.

82. *Todana*. mentioned by Suśruta among sour fruits.

83. *Tūda*. (Mulberry?, Hindi-*Sabatāt*?)—mentioned by Caraka.

84. *Trṇaśūnya*. (A kind of Jasmin, Hindi-*Ketaki*?)—mentioned in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda.

85. *Udumbara*. (*Ficus glowmerata*, Hindi-*Gālar*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda.

86. *Urumāṇa*. (Pear?, Hindi-*Nāspātī*?)—Pears according to Yuan Chwang were introduced into India by the Chinese.

87. *Vārtāka*. (Brinjal, Hindi-*Bengan*)—mentioned by Caraka. De Candolle thinks it is indigenous.

88. *Vaśira*. (Hindi-*Sūryāvartapbala*)—mentioned by Suśruta

89. *Vātāma*. (Almond, Hindi-*Bādām*)—Caraka mentions it among dry fruits. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it went from Persia to Asia Minor. (For details please see Dr. P. K. Gode's article).

90. *Vibhitaka*. (*Terminalia bellerica*, Hindi-*Babedā*)—mentioned in the R̥g-veda (III 86.6 and X 34.1).

91. *Vikanakata*. (*Flacourlia vamonchi*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda. A thorny tree.

92. *Vetrāpāla*. (The soft sprouts of *Catamus Rotang*, Hindi-*Benī Ke Ankur*).

93. *Vrk̥ṣāmla*. (Hindi-*Kokam*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya among sour fruits.

E. Vegetables.

1. *Agastya*. (*Agita*, Hindi-*Hatīyā*)—Flowers are cooked. Caraka *Sākhavarga*.

2. *Agnimanthaka*. (*Premna Inlegrifolia*, Hindi-*Arni*)—Suśruta.

3. *Alābu*. (*Lagenaria vulgaris*, Hindi-*Lauki*)—Probably used by Proto-Australoids. Fruit is cooked. (Yajurveda, Av. VIII. 10.29 etc.

4. *Āluka*. (Tubers)—Caraka mentions *Piṇḍaluka* etc., Suśruta also mentions *Madhvāluka*, *Hastyaluka*, *Kāṣṭhāluka*, *Samīkhaluka* and *Raktāluka*.

5. *Amlīkākanda*. A bulb grown in Assam., Caraka.

6. *Aṇḍikā*. (Nymphal alba)—Av. IV. 34.5. Its flowers were eaten.
7. *Aṅkaladya*. (Root of little blue lotus) Caraka.
8. *Āsurī*. (A kind of Brassica, Hindi-Rāī) Caraka.
9. *Aśvattha*. (Ficus religiosa, Hindi-Pīpal) Caraka.
10. *Avakā*. (Blyxa oryzetorum, Hindi-Sivār)—Kashmir potherb—Yajurveda and Av. IV. 378.
11. *Avalguā*. (Same as *Bakurī*, Hindi-Bābaci) Caraka.
12. *Bhaṇḍī*. (Ladies finger?, Hindi-Bhīṇḍī?)—Caraka, According to Rajanighaṇṭu it is *mañjiṣṭha*.
13. *Bilvapatra*. (Leaves of aegle marmelos, Hindi-Bel-ke-Patte) Caraka.
14. *Bimbipatra*. Leaves of the large flowered Bryonia. Leaves are cooked.
15. *Bimbitikā*. (Large flowered Bryonia, Hindi-Kundarū) fruit is cooked. Suśruta.
16. *Bisa*. (Lotus stalks, Hindi-Bhīṣ) Caraka. The diggers of lotus stalks are mentioned in the Rv. VI. 61.2. Probably they were eaten.
17. *Bṛhatī*. (Indian Night shade, Hindi-Baḍī Kaṭerī) Suśruta.
18. *Cakramarda*. (Ovalleaved Cassia.)
19. *Cānigerī*. (Indian Sorrel, Hindi-Caupatiā) Caraka. A leafy vegetable.
20. *Cañcu*. (Water cressa or Carchorus Aentan—gularis, Hindi-Cañcu) Caraka.
21. *Cilli*. (Purple goose-foot, Hindi-Baḍū Bathnū) Caraka.
22. *Ciñḍa*. (Snakegourd, Hindi-Caceṇḍā) fruit is cooked Caraka.
23. *Cirbbīṭa*. (A kind of cucumber, Hindi-Phāt) Kauṭilya, Caraka.
24. *Citraka*. (Plumbago zeylanica, rose coloured lead wort, Hindi-Citā) Kauṭilya. Caraka.
25. *Ervāruka*. (Cucumber, Hindi-Kakaḍī)—Caraka.
26. *Gaṇḍīra*. (Hindi-Kaṇua Zimikand) Caraka.
27. *Gāngeruka*. (A little thorny plant bearing a white nectareous flower) Caraka.
28. *Gojihva*. (Elephants foot?, Hindi-Gaṇvān or Gojibhī) a leafy vegetable. Caraka.
29. *Grājāna*. (Carrot root, Hindi-Gājar) a root. Caraka.

30. *Jivaka*. (A plant growing on the Himalyas having a bulbous root and having round and long leaves. *Pentaptera Tomentosa*) *Suśruta*.

31. *Jivantī*. (*Sarsaparila*, Hindi-*Jivantī*) Best pot herb. *Caraka*.

32. *Kadalī*. (Plantain, Hindi-*Kelā*) Flowers and fruit are cooked. *Suśruta*. See fruits.

33. *Kākamāci*. (Nightshade Hindi-*Makoya*) *Caraka*.

34. *Kākaṇḍolā*. (cowhage) *Caraka*.

35. *Kalambī*. (Red Malabar night shade, Hindi-*Kalamī Sāk*) *Caraka*, a leafy vegetable.

36. *Kālāsāka*. (*Maraya Korniji*, Hindi-*Cūkē*) *Caraka*, a leafy vegetable.

37. *Kalāya*. (Field pea, Hindi-*Maṭar*) *Kauṭilya* II. 12.7 and *Caraka*. See pulses.

• 38. *Kaliṅga*. (Water melon, Hindi-*Tarbūṛā*) *Suśruta*.

39. *Kaṇṭakārikā*. (Bitter sweet night shade, Hindi-*Kaṭeri*) *Suśruta*.

40. *Kāravella*. (*Mormodica*, Hindi-*Karelā*) Fruit is cooked. It is called *Kāriṣṇta* in the *Kāśyapa Saṁh*. It is mentioned in the Jain canonical works and *Suśruta*.

41. *Karbudāra*. Hindi-*Kacnār*. *Caraka*.

42. *Karkāruka*. (Very small pumpkin, Hindi-*Choṭā pethā*) *Suśruta*.

43. *Karkasa*. Same as *Karkoṭaka*, a kind of *Paṭola*. *Caraka*.

44. *Karkaṣi*. (a variety of cucumber, Hindi-*Kakaḍi*) fruit is cooked.

45. *Karkoṭaka*. (*Mormordica charantia*, Hindi-*Kakoḍā*). *Caraka*.

46. *Kaseruka*. (*Cyperus rotundus*, Hindi-*Kaseru*) a root—*Caraka*. See fruits.

47. *Kaṭhillaka*. (A pot herb, Red variety of *Punarnavā*) *Caraka Sākavarga*.

48. *Kelūta*. Same as *kembuke*, Hindi-*Kemuā* or *kobī*, Tuber is eaten. *Caraka*.

49. *Koṣāṭaki*. (*Luffa pentandra*, Hindi-*Kaḍavī Torai*) Fruit is cooked. It is indigenous according to the *Dicy. of Eco. Products*, Vol. V, p. 94. *Kauṭilya*, *Suśruta*.

50. *Kovidāra*. (*Bauhinia variegata*, Hindi-*Lal Kacanār*) *Kauṭilya*. *Caraka*.

51. *Kraunçādani*. (a water tuber, Hindi *Kauncādan*) Caraka.
52. *Kulaka*. (Hindi-*Kerelā* or *Parval bheda*) Caraka.
53. *Kumārājīva*. Hindi-*Jivafāka*. Caraka.
54. *Kumuda*. (Nympha lotus, Hindi-*Safed Kamal*) Av. IV.
- 34.5, Caraka.
55. *Kuntalikā*. (Phyalis Indica, Hindi-*Pansokhā*) Suśruta.
56. *Kūṣmāṇḍa*. (Pumpkin gourd, Hindi-*Sitāphala*) Fruits is cooked. It is considered the best vegetable. Caraka.
57. *Kuṣumbha*. (Safflower, Hindi-*Kaśm*) Kauṭilya, Caraka.
58. *Kuṭberaka*. (A kind of holy Basil, Hindi-*Tulasī Bheda*) Caraka.
59. *Kuṭīnjara*. (Wild Goose foot, Hindi-*Jangli Bathuā*). Caraka.
60. *Kutumbuka*. (Hindi-*Gūmā ke patte*) Same as *Dronapuspī*. A leafy vegetable. Caraka.
61. *Lakṣmaṇā*. A plant having upon its leaves red spots Av. II. 25.3, Caraka.
62. *Lāṅgalī*. (Hindi *Kalibārī*) Caraka.
63. *Laṣuna*. (*Allium sativum*, Garlic root, Hindi-*Labasun*) A tuber. Kasyapa Sam.
64. *Lonikā*. (Common Indian Parselone, Hindi-*Luni* or *Kulfā*) A leafy vegetable. Caraka *Sakavarga*.
65. *Loṭṭaka*. Hindi-*Laba māriṣa* Caraka, śākavarga.
66. *Maṇḍākaparṇī*. (Indian pennywort, Hindi-*Brāhmi*) Caraka and early Jain canonical works.
67. *Māriṣa*. (*Amaranthus oleraceus*. Hindi-*Mariṣa*) A leafy vegetable.
68. *Maruvaka*. (*Vangueria spinosa*, Hindi-*Maruā* Kauṭilya.)
69. *Māṣaparnī*. (*Teramus labialis* or *Glycine labialis*, Hindi-*vananṛada*). (Av. II. 25.3. Caraka Śākavarga.) Dhanvantri I. 136 calls it *kāmbojī* which shows that, it was grown in *Kamboja* region.
70. *Methikā*. (Fenugreek, Hindi-*Methī*). According to Dr. P. K. Gode it was imported from Persia. Suśruta mentions *Aśvabalā* which is a variety of *methikā*. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (VI iv p. 86) it is wild in Kashmir. The word *methāka* is mentioned by Dhanvantari (See Dr. Gode's article.)
71. *Mūlaka*. (radish, Hindi-*Mūli*) Caraka. Śākavarga. Soft unripe radish is considered good.

72. *Muñjātaka*. (*Nibu* grown in Northern India specially Kashmir, where it is called *Moboyaka*.) Caraka.
73. *Nāḍī*. (*Carchorus Oiltarius*.) Caraka.
74. *Nālikā*. (Hindi-*Nāḍī kā Sāk*) Same as *Kālatāka*.
75. *Nalinī*. Same as *Bisa*, Hindi-*Bhis*. Caraka.
76. *Nandimāśaka*. (Hindi-*Undī manavaka*) Caraka.
77. *Nimba*. (*Margosa tree*, Hindi-*Nim*) Caraka.
78. *Niṣpāva*. (Flat bean, Hindi-*Bhaṭhānis*) Caraka.
79. *Nyagrodha*. (*Ficus benghalensis*, Hindi-*Baḍ*) Rv. I. 24.7. Caraka.
80. *Pālāṅkya*. (*Spinacia aleracea*, Hindi-*Pālak*) a leafy vegetable. Early Jain canonical works, Caraka.
81. *Panasa*. See fruits.
82. *Palāṇḍu*. (*Allium Ceba*, Onions, Hindi-*Pyāz*) A root. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it originated from Persia and Afghanistan. Patañjali, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 17.26.
83. *Parpaśaka*. (*Justicia procumbance*, Hindi-*Pittapāpadā*) Caraka.
84. *Parvaṇī*. Same as *Indra Vārūṇī*. Caraka.
85. *Pāṭhā*. (Velvet leaf. Hindi-*Pāṭhā*) Av. II. 27.4. Kauṭilya and Caraka.
86. *Paṭola*. (A kind of snakegourd, Hindi-*Paraval*) Fruit is cooked. Probably used by early Dravidians. Buddhist canonical works and Caraka.
87. *Phaṇḍī*. (a kind of leafy vegetable same as *Bhanṛgi*) Caraka.
88. *Piluparṇī*. (Hindi-*Marbel*) Caraka.
89. *Piṇḍāluka*. (A white variety of *Alocasia*, Hindi-*Ratālū?*) a root Kauṭilya, Caraka.
90. *Plakṣa*. (*Ficus arnottiana*, Hindi-*Pilkhum*) Yajurveda and Av. V. 5. Caraka.
91. *Prapunnāḍa*. Same as *Cakramarda*. Caraka.
92. *Punarnavā*. (Hog's weed, Hindi-*Viśakhaparā*) Suśruta.
93. *Puṣkarabīja* (*Nymphaea*. *Stellala*, Hindi-*Kamalgatṭā*) Rv. VI. 16.13 etc. Caraka. *Sākavarga*.
94. *Rajakṣavaka* also called *Dugdhikā*. Caraka *Sākavarga*.
95. *Rājamāśa*. (Cowpea, Hindi-*Rājamā*) See Pulses. The Hindi word *lobia* is from the Greek word *Lobos*. According to De Candolle it is a native of Brazil and came to India from Mauritius. (Vol. VI 91 p. 186).

96. *Sakulādanī*. (Purple Lippa, Same as Jalapippali, Hindi-*Kaṭuki* or *Jalapīpal*). Caraka *Sākavarga*.

97. *Sālmali*. (*Bambax Ceiba*, Hindi-*Sema*) Flowers are cooked. Rv. VII. 50.3 etc. Caraka.

98. *Sāluka*. (*Nymphaea lotus*, the root of waterlily, Hindi-*Kamalkand*) Av. IV. 34.3, Caraka.

99. *Ṣaṇa*. (*Crotalaria juncea*, Hindi-*Sana*) Av. II. 4.3, Kauṭilya and Caraka.

100. *Sātalā*. (Soap nut acacia, Hindi-*Sātalā*) Suśruta.

101. *Saraṅgeṣṭā*. Same as *Maṅṣiṣṭha*, Hindi-*Majīṣṭha*) Caraka.

102. *Sarpachatrāka*. (Mushroom, Hindi-*Khumbī*) Caraka *Sākavarga*.

103. *Sarṣapa*. (*Brassica Campestris*, Mustard, Hindi-*Sarson*) leaves and stalk. Chand Up. II. 14.3, Caraka.

104. *Satapuṣpī*. (Leaf of Dillseed, Hindi-*Soyā*) Vagbhata II. According to Dicy. of Eco. Products VI. 1.187 it is a native of India.

105. *Satāvari*. (*Asparagus racemosus*, Hindi-*Satāvar*) Kauṭilya Caraka.

106. *Saṭī*. (Long Zedoary, Hindi-*Kachr*) Same as *Kachra* Caraka.

107. *Satīna*. (a kind of pea, Hindi-*Maṭar*) Suśruta. See pulses.

108. *Simbi*. (a legume) Fruit is cooked. The Hindi word *Sem* seems to be derived from it. Kauṭilya.

109. *Sigrū*. (*Moringa pterygosperma*, Horse radish tree, Hindi-*Senjana*) a leafy vegetable. It is also called *Sanbhaṅjana*. Kauṭilya.

110. *Sīrṇavṛnta*. Same as *Cirbbiṣa*. Suśruta.

111. *Śleṣmātaka*. (*Myxa*, Hindi-*Lasorā*) See fruits.

112. *Sreyasī*. Same as *Gajapippali*. Caraka.

113. *Sṛṅgāṭa*. (*Trapabispinosa*, Hindi-*Singhāḍā*) See fruits.

114. *Sudarṣana*. Same as *Vṛṣaparnī*. Mbh. Anu. 91.42.

115. *Suniṣannaka*. (*Naisilea quadrifolia*, Hindi-a kind of *Methi*). Caraka *Sākavarga*.

116. *Sūraṇa*. (Yam. Hindi-*Zamīnkand*) According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. VI (i) p. 363) it is indigenous in India. Caraka. *Sākavarga*.

117. *Suṣā*. (Same as *Kāsamarda*, Hindi-*Suṣavi* or *Kasaṇḍī*) Caraka. *Sākavarga*.

118. *Suvarcalā*. (Sunflower, Hindi-*Hulbul*) Caraka. *Sākavarga*.
119. *Tālapralamba*. Tender leaves of palm tree. Caraka. *Sākavarga*.
120. *Taṇḍuliyaka*. (Prickly Amaranth. Hindi-*Canlāi kā bheda*) a leafy vegetable. Caraka. *Sākavarga*.
121. *Tārūṇī*. a tuber also called *Saba* (Suśruta).
122. *Taruṣa*. (Hindi-*Tiratkaṇḍ*) Caraka. *Sākavarga*.
123. *Tilaparṇikā*. Hindi-*Hulbul* Same as *Suvarcalā*. Caraka.
124. *Tinḍita*. (a kind of Cucumber, *Hibiscus ficulneus*, Hindi-*Tinḍā?*) Fruit is cooked, According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it is indigenous.
125. *Trapaṣa*. (a kind of cucumber, Hindi-*Khīrā*) mainly grown in northern India. (Caraka)
126. *Trparṇī*. Same as *Hamsapādikā*. Caraka.
127. *Upodaki*. (*Basella cardifolia*, Indian Spinach, Hindi-*Poi*) a leafy vegetable—Caraka.
128. *Udumbara*. (*Ficus Glemorata*, Hindi-*Gular*). Caraka.
129. *Urubuka*. (*Cucumis melo*, Hindi-*Lal Araṇḍa*) Rv. VII.
- 59.12. *Yajurveda*, Av. XIV. I. 17. and Suśruta.
130. *Urvāruka*. (*Cucumis sativus*, Hindi-*Kacariyā*) Rv. VII.
- 59.12. Caraka.
131. *Utpala*. (Blue lotus, Hindi-*Nīla Kamal*). Caraka.
132. *Vajrakanda*. a tuber mentioned by Kauṭilya.
133. *Vamśanikura*. (shoots of a bamboo, Hindi-*Baṇis ke Anikur*). Caraka.
134. *Vanatiktaka*. (Same as *Kirātatikta*. Hindi-*Kālamegha*). Caraka.
135. *Varṣābhū*. (*Boerhavia diffusa*.)
136. *Vārtāka* or *Vṛntāka*. (Brinjal, Hindi-*Benigan*) Fruit is cooked. Probably it was used by Proto-Australoids. A fruit like brinjal can also be seen in Ajanta paintings. De Candolle thinks it is indigenous. (Caraka and Jain canonical works.)
137. *Varuṇā*. (*Crataeva nurvalla*, Hindi-*Varnā*) a leafy vegetable. (Av. VI. 85.1 etc.)
138. *Vāstuka*. (White goose-foot, Hindi-*Bathnā*) a potherb. Considered good. (Caraka and Jain canonical works.)
139. *Vatsādani*. (*Coculus Cordifolius*, Hindi-*Giloya*) A leafy vegetable Caraka. It is called *Gudāci* by Suśruta.
140. *Vetrāgra*. (Soft sprouts of *Calamus Rotang*, Hindi-*Bent kā Aglā Bbāg*) Caraka, Vagbhāṣa II.

141. *Vidārikand*. (*Canvovulus paniculatus*, Hindi-*Bilaikand*)
a root. Caraka.
142. *Vṛkṣādānī*. (a parasite, Hindi-*Bandā*) Suśruta.
143. *Vṛkadbūmaka*. Probably same as *Trivṛta* Caraka.
144. *Vṛṣapūṣpa*. (Hindi-*Aḍuse kā phūl*) Caraka.
145. *Yātuka*. (White *Sālāparṇi*) Caraka.
146. *Yavānī*. (The leaf of Bishop's weed) Caraka.
147. *Yavasāka*. (kind of *Vastuka*, Hindi-*kebet pāpadā*) Grown
in Bengal. Caraka.
148. *Yātbikā*. (*Jaminum ariculatum*, Hindi-*Jūhī*) Suśruta.

F. Spices.

1. *Ajagandbā*. (A variety of *Yavānī*) Caraka. Su. 27.176.
2. *Ajāji*. (Cummin, Hindi-*Zīrā*) Kauṭilya II. 15.21.
Caraka and Suśruta call black cummin *Kāravī* and a thick variety
is called *Kuncikā*. The Sanskrit word *Jiraka* seems to have been
derived from the Persian word *Zīrā* hence it seems that it was
introduced into India from Persia (Dicy. of Eco. Products Vol.
II, p. 643) According to Watt it is indigenous in Egypt.
3. *Ardraka*. See *Sṛṅgavera*, Caraka. *Haritavarga*.
4. *Arjaka*. Same as *Kuṣberaka*, Caraka. *Haritavarga*.
5. *Aśvabalā*. It is a variety of *Metbikā*.
6. *Audbbida*. (Kitchen salt, Hindi-*Kac Namak*) Kaut. II.
15.16.
7. *Bbuṣṭṛṇa*. (*Andropogo Martini*, Hindi-*Gandbatṛṇa*)
Caraka Su. 27.170. *Vāgbhaṭa* II Su. VII.
8. *Biḍa*. (Black salt, Hindi-*Kālā Namak*) Kauṭilya II.
15.16.
9. *Cavya*. (*Piper chaba*, Hindi-*Caba*) *Vāgbhaṭa* II. Su. VI.
10. *Citraka*. (*Plumbago Zeylanica*, Hindi-*Citā*) Kauṭilya.
11. *Coca*. (*Cinnamon Zeylanica*, Hindi-*Dālciṇī*) Kauṭilya.
According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products Vol. II, p. 317 it is a
native of Sumātrā.
12. *Coraka*. Kauṭilya. II. 15.21.
13. *Damanaka*. (*Antemisia vulgaris*) Kauṭilya and Caraka.
14. *Dāruharidrā*. (*Amomum Xanthoririhon*) Kauṭilya.
15. *Dhānyaka*. See *Kustumburu*.
16. *Elā*. (*Cardamaom*, Hindi-*Ialāyaci*) According to the
Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. II. p. 227) it is indigenous in moun-
tain tracts of S. India. Kauṭilya uses it in the preparations of

decoctions for causing madness. Pliny mentions four varieties green, reddish and black, short and black and mottled with a faint smell. Amarasimha mentions the two varieties, the large and the small one.

17. *Gandīra*. See vegetables. Caraka Su. 27.169.

18. *Gaurasarsapa*. (White mustard, Hindi-*Safed Sarson*) Kauṭilya II. 15.21.

19. *Grñjana*. A small variety of garlic. Suśruta calls it a vegetable liked by Yavanas and Dhanvantari calls it Mlecchakanda i.e. a tuber liked by non-Aryans.

20. *Haridrā*. (Curcum longa, Turmeric, Hindi-*Haldi*) The word seems to be of Austric origin. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. II, p. 659) it is a native of South Asia.

21. *Haritaki*. (Terminilia Chebula; Hindi-*Har*) Early Buddhist canon and Kauṭilya II. 12.5.

22. *Hingu*. (Asafoetida, Hindi-*Hing*) Mahāvagga VI 7. The Kāśyapa Samhitā calls it Bāhika which shows that it was imported from Afghanistan.

23. *Jalapippali*. A kind of pepper which grows in water Caraka Su. 27.

24. *Jambīra*. See fruits.

25. *Jātiphala*. (Nutmeg, Hindi-*Jāyaphal*) Suśrutā and Kāśyapa. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. IV, p. 473) it is a native of Maluccas.

26. *Jiraka*. See *Ajāji*.

27. *Karpūra*. (Camphor, Hindi-*Kapūr*) Suśruta Su. 46.202.

28. *Kamkola*. (Cubelia officinalis, Hindi-*Sitalacini*) Suśruta Su. 46.202. According to Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. VI (i), p. 257) it is a native of Java and Sumatra.

29. *Kāsamarda*. (Cassia Occidentalis, Hindi-*Kasaundi*) Suśruta Su. 46.221.

30. *Kastūrikā*. (Musk, Hindi-*Kastūri*) Suśruta Su. 46.204.

31. *Kesara*. also called *Kumkuma* (Saffron, Hindi-*Kesara*) Amara II. 6.124. It was brought from Kashmir and Afghanistan, and also exported to Arabia.

32. *Khadīra*. (Acacia Catechu, Hindi-*Khair*) used in preparing betel leaves (Rv. II. 53.19 etc.). According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. II, p. 203) it is a native of Moluccas.

33. *Kharāśva*. (Black cummin, See *Ajāji*) Caraka Su. 27.170.

34. *Kṣavaka*. (Centipeda or bicularis, Hindi-*Nāka Cbikkani*) Suśruta Su. 46.221.

35. *Kirātatikta*. (Gentiana chitravita, Hindi-*Cirāyatā*) Kauṭilya. It was probably grown in the country of the Kiratas.

36. *Kustumburu*. (Coriander, Hindi-*Dhaniyā*) Same as *Dhanyaka*. The word Kustumburu seems to be a Dravidian word. (Pāṇini (VI. 1.143) Kauṭilya II 15.21.)

37. *Laṣuna*. (Garlic Hindi-*Labasaṇ*), Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

38. *Lavaṇa*. (Salt. Hindi-*Namak*) Av. VII. 76.1.

39. *Lavaṅga*. (Cloves, Hindi-*Long*) Pliny mentions cloves as an article of trade. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products. (Vol. II, p. 203) it is a native of Moluccas. Suśruta 46.202.

40. *Marica*. (Black pepper, Hindi-*Kālī Mirca*) (Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7. 20.12. Mahāvagga VI. 6 and Kaut. II. 15.21.) Periplus states that it was exported to the Arabian Sea ports in the 1st century A. D. Pliny mentions both the white and black varieties. Probably it grew at Dharmapattana (Calicut?) as Amarasiṃha (II. 9.367) calls it after the town. But the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. II, p. 202) regards it as indigenous in the Moluccas.

41. *Maruvaka*. (Vangueria spinosa, Hindi-*Maṅgareḷā*) Kauṭilya.

42. *Mūlaka*. See vegetables. Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

43. *Musta*. (Cyperus rotundus, Hindi-*Moṭhā*) Kauṭilya. Amara calls it *Kuruvinḍa* probably because it was grown in the Kuru country).

44. *Nāgakesara*. (Calophyllum inophyllum) Vagbhata II calls it *Puṇināga*.

45. *Palāṇḍu*. (Onions, Hindi-*Pyāz*) Caraka. *Haritavarga*. See vegetables.

46. *Pippalī*. (Piperpe epuloides, Hindi-*Pīpal*) It was probably used by Ancient Dravidians as it was exported to Assyria in the 14th century B. C. It is mentioned in the Av. VI. 107.4. It is called *uṣṇā* in the Sat. Bra. III 4.3.13. Kauṭilya and the authors of medical works mention it as one of the very important spices. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (VI (i), p. 258) it is indigenous in India.

47. *Pippalimūla*. (Piper affinarum, Hindi-*Pīparāmūl*) Vagbhat II. Su. VI.

48. *Pūgāphala*. (Areca nut, Hindi-*Sūpārī*) In Kauṭilya's time powdered areca nut was used to flavour certain varieties of liquors. It is a native of Malaya and seems to have been introduced into India by the Austric people. (Dicy. of Eco. Products Vol. I, p. 291 and Vol. VI (iii), p. 323) It was used in preparing betel leaves (Kaśyapa Saṁ. Bhojana kalpa 39).

49. *Rājikā*. (Brassica, Hindi-*Rāī*) A species of Brassica was grown in the Indus Valley. It is called *Baja* in Av. VII. 6.3. In Caraka it is called *Āsurī* probably because it was mainly used by the non-Aryans.

50. *Romaka*. A kind of salt. Suśruta.

51. *Saindhava*. (Rock salt, Hindi-*Sendhā Namak*) Brh. Up. II. 4.12.

52. *Sāleyamṛṣṭaka*. Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

53. *Sāmudra*. (Sea Salt, Hindi-*Sāmudra Namak*).

54. *Sanvareala*. (Hindi-*Senkal Namak*) Kauṭilya II. 15.16.

55. *Siddhārtha*. (White mustard, Hindi-*Sarson*) same as *Gaurasatṣapa*.

56. *Sigru*. (*Hyperanthera moringa*) Caraka. *Haritavarga*. See vegetables.

57. *Sṛṅgavera*. (*Lingiber officinale*, Hindi-*Adarak*) The word seems to be of Austric origin in the Av. IV. 35.5 it is called *Adāra*. It is mentioned by Kauṭilya.

58. *Suñṭhi*. (Dryginger, Hindi-*Sauñṭh*) Caraka calls it a panacea. (*Viśvabheṣaja*) See *Sṛṅgavera*.

59. *Suṣavī*. (*Carum Carui* or Caraway, Hindi-*Suṣavī*).

60. *Tejapatra*. (Cassia, Hindi-*Tejapāt*) Vagbhata II, Su. VI.

61. *Tulasī*. (Holy Basil, Hindi-*Tūlsī*) The word seems to be of Dravidian origin. The plant is mentioned in the early Buddhist canonical works. Caraka Su. 27.167.

62. *Tumburu*. (*Zanthoxylum Alatum*, Hindi-*Tumbaru*) Caraka Su. 27.169.

63. *Tvak*. (*Cinnomomum Zeylonicum*, Hindi-*Dalcīnī*) Vagbhata II Su. VI. Kauṭilya calls it *Coca* See *Coca*.

64. *Udbbēda*. (a kind of salt). Caraka Su. I. 88.89. See *Audbbid*.

65. *Uśīra*. (Hindi-*Khas*) Kauṭilya.

66. *Vaca*. (Lerumbet, Hindi-*Baca*). It is also called *Sihūla granthi*.

67. *Vibbitaka*. (*Terminalia blenca*). See fruits.

68. *Viśvabhesaja*. See *Suṣṭhi Caraka*. *Haritavarga*.

69. *Yavakṣāra*. (Nitre, Hindi-*Javākḥār*) *Suśruta*.

70. *Yavāni*. (*Hyoscyamus niger*, Hindi-*Khurāsāni Ajavāyana*) *Caraka Su.* 27.168.

APPENDIX VII FOOD PREPARATIONS

A.—Vegetarian

1. *Abhyāsa*. Green barley in ears when parched and beaten with a pestle and mixed with *guda*. (Pāṇini, Apūpādivarga, Amara. Vaiśya. Vag. I. Su. 10. 66).

2. *Ambaṭṭhika*. A sweet prepared with mango. (Angv. p. 182).

3. *Ambila*. (Hindi—*Sirkā*)—Vinegar. It is called *Sukta* or *Cakra* in the medical works. (Jātakas, Caraka Su. 27, 284. Suśruta Su. 45.212).

4. *Amikṣā*. Solid part of a mixture of curds and boiled milk. (Yajurveda and Sat. Bra. III. 3.3.2.)

5. *Apūpa*. (Hindi—*Puā*)—A cake made of rice or barley meal cooked in clarified butter on slow fire. Honey was mixed to sweeten it. It is probably the earliest sweet known to us. (Rv. x. 45.9). Cakes prepared with broken pieces of rice are also mentioned (*Kaṇapūvam*, J. 109 and Jain canon). Pāṇini mentions *apūpas* stuffed with fried wheat flour (*cūrṇitāḥ apūpāḥ*). Caraka (Su. 27.268) mentions *pūpas* prepared with the addition of milk and juice of sugarcane. (*Kṣīreksurasa pūpakāḥ*). Vagbhata I mentions five varieties of cakes:—

(1) Cooked in a pit heated with chaff fire (*Kukūlapakva*).

(2) Cooked in an earthen potsherd (*Kārpara-pakva*).

(3) Cooked in a *Bhrāṣṭra* (*Bhrāṣṭra pakva*).

(4) Cooked in a *kandu* (*Tandūra* in Hindi) (*Kandu pakva*) and

(5) Cooked on live charcoals. (*Angāra pakva*).

6. *Āsuta*. Vegetables preserved in vinegar. Suśruta Su. 45. 211.

7. *Aukula*. Green cereals in ears when parched. Vag. I. Su. X. 66.

8. *Avarāṇna*. Pulses cooked with spices. First mentioned by Baudhayana. (Dh. Su. IV. 7.7. and Gr. Su. II. 8.4.) The Anguttara Nikaya IV. 108.112 calls it *Aparāṇna*. (See Dr. Gode's article on *Avarāṇna*).

9. *Bhaksya*. (*Mithāi* in Hindi) Sweets in general. Good quality sweets are called *Uccāvaca bhaksya* (Ram. 61.14). In Suśruta's time sweets were dressed with fruits, meat, preparations of sugarcane juice and *māṣa*. (Suśruta Su. 46).

10. *Bhakta*. Same as *Odana* (Pāṇini IV. 4.10. Early Buddhist canon and later).

11. *Bharṇja*. Same as *Dhānāḥ*. (Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.19).

12. *Bhr̥ṣṭadbānya*. (Fried grains). Caraka (Cikitsā 20.37) shows that parched grains such as *Mudga*, *Masūra* and *Kalāya* were in common use. (See Dr. P. K. Gode's Article on Fried Grains A. B. O. R. I. Vol. XXVII pages 56-82).

13. *Bhūtakūṛaka*. A mixture of curds, groats, parched rice and sesame which was used to drive away evil spirits. (Angv. p. 64).

14. *Caṇakaudana*. Rice cooked with gram pulse. (Matsya Pu. 268. 6-30).

15. *Caru*—cooked rice from which water was not strained. The grains became soft but remained distinct (Śabara on Jaim. X. 1.42.).

16. *Citrāṇna*. A cooked preparation of many cereals? (Baudh. Gr. Sesa. Su. p. 206. Yaj. Sm. I. 304).

17. *Dadbanvat*. Probably a kind of cheese with two varieties one with pores and the other without pores. (Rv. VI. 48. 18.)

18. *Dadbisara*. Cream of curds. (Mṛcchakaṭika. Act. I. p. 47 Cal. 1938).

19. *Dadhyodana*. (*Dabī Cāval* in Hindi) Boiled rice mixed with curds. Brhad. Up. VI. 4.15.

20. *Dhānāḥ*. (Hindi—*Baurī*) Parched barley. (Rv. I. 16.2. etc.) Sprouted and parched barley is also mentioned (Caraka Su. 27.265).

21. *Dhosaka*. A saline preparation of pulses mixed with spices and fried in clarified butter (Mānasollāsa III. 1491-1494).

22. *Divālikā*. (Hindi—*Matbarī* or *Divale*) Saline small cakes prepared with wheat flour fried in clarified butter. (Angv. p. 182).

23. *Dugdhaudana*. Boiled rice mixed with milk. (Angv. p. 64).

24. *Gandika*. Sweets of wheat flour with *gūḍa* stuffed inside. (Suśruta. Su. 46.394).

25. *Ghārikā*. (*Gharage* in Marathi) Round cakes of *Māṣa*

flour with five or seven holes fried in oil till their colour became red. (Mānasollāsa III. 1401-1403).

26. *Gbayapuṇṇa*. See *Ghṛtapūra*. (Uva. I. 34).

27. *Gbola*. (Hindi-*Lassi*) Curds churned with entire butter in it. (Suśruta Su. 45.85).

28. *Ghṛtaudana*. Boiled rice mixed with clarified butter. (Sankh Aran. XII. 8.)

29. *Ghṛtapūra*. (Hindi-*Ghevara*). A cake prepared with fine wheat flour mixed with milk, and fried in ghee. It is then coated with sugar. Also called *Haviṣpūra*. (Suśruta Su. 46, Uva. I. 34).

30. *Gṇḍaudana*. Rice boiled with treacle. (Baudh. Gr. Seṣa Su., p. 258, Bharata III. 36-39. Augv., p. 64).

31. *Gulavayāṇiya Gōl papadi* in Gujarati. Early Jain canon.

32. *Haiyamgavīna*. Butter churned out of the curds prepared from the previous day's milk. (Suśruta Su. 45.94).

33. *Haridrodana*. Rice cooked with turmeric. (Baudh. Gr. Seṣa Su., p. 258).

34. *Holaka*. Same as *Ulumbāḥ*.

35. *Iḍarikā*. Circular balls of fermented fine *Māṣa* flour fried in clarified butter. Spices were mixed before eating. (Mānasollāsa XIII. 1400-1401).

36. *Iṣṭaka*. A sweet preparation mentioned in the Vāyu Purāṇa. (80.47).

37. *Kaccara*. The dry pieces of a cucumber fried in ghee or oil. (Bhavisayatta-kahā XII 3. Vilāsavatīkathā).

38. *Kāmbalika*. A soup prepared with whey, some roots, viscous sediment of sesame and vinegar. (Suśruta Su. 46. 381).

39. *Kāñjika*. According to Dr. Burrow sour rice gruel was used by Dravidians. It was very popular in Kāñci and Avanti. Two varieties are mentioned in the Suśruta (Su. 45. 213-214), one prepared with the husk of cereals (*tuṣāmbu*) and the other prepared with food grains (*Dbānyāmla*) (Vin. I. 203, Amar. II. 9.39).

40. *Karambha*. (Hindi-*Dabī-Sattu*). A kind of porridge made of parched barley flour mixed with curds, clarified butter or *Soma* juice. (Rv. III. 52.7. etc.)

41. *Kāsāra*. (Hindi-*Kasār*) A preparation of wheat flour fried in ghee and mixed with milk, granulated sugar and aromatic spices. (Mānasollāsa III. 1386-87).

42. *Kaṭakaṛṇa*. (Hindi-*Kalmi Baḍe*) Preparation of pea pulse ground, fumigated, and mixed with spices and fried in clarified butter. (*Mānasollāsa* III. 1394-97.)

43. *Kaṭṭhapījja*. A gruel prepared from rice fried in clarified butter (*Uva*. I. 33.).

44. *Khaḍa*. A soup prepared from fruits. (*Dalhaṇa* on *Suśruta*. Su. 46 S. 376, *Angv.*, p. 179) or a preparation of sediment of sesame cooked with aromatic spices. (*Nala* on *Suśruta* Su. 46.381.)

45. *Khajjaka*. (Hindi-*Khājā*) A preparation of wheat flour fried in ghee. (*Suśruta* Su. 46. 399) Sweet *Khajjakas* are also mentioned (*Uva*. I. 34).

46. *Khaṇḍapāka* or *Khāṇḍava* (Hindi-*Khāṇḍkī mithāi*) sweets prepared from sugarcandy. (*Ram. Bal* 53.4).

47. *Kilāṭa*. Liquid part of inspissated milk but *Dalhaṇa* uses the word in the sense of solid part. (*Kauṭilya* II. 29.27., *Caraka* Su. V. 9, *Suśruta* Su. 46).

48. *Kṛsara*. A dish prepared with sesamum and rice cooked in milk. In *Dalhaṇa*'s time it was a dish prepared with Sesamum, rice and *Māṣa*. (*Av.* V. 5 *Sad. Bra.* V. 2 and *Gṛhya Sūtras*).

49. *Kṣāralavaṇa*. Saline preparations which were probably highly spiced. (*Gṛhya Sūtras*).

50. *Kṣīraudana*. (Hindi-*khīr*). The *Rv.* (VIII 77.10) has *Kṣīrapākam odanam*. Rice cooked with milk.

51. *Kṣīraprakāra*. A sweet preparation from boiled milk inspissated by the addition of some sour substance. Solid part was mixed with rice flour, formed into various shapes, fried and coated with sugar. (Modern-*Rasgullas*?) (*Mānasollāsa* III. 1408-11.)

52. *Kṣīraśaṣṭika*. *Śaṣṭika* rice cooked with milk. (*Yaj. Sm.* I. 303, *Angv.*, p. 64).

53. *Kṣīravaṭa*. Fried balls of *Māṣa* pulse poured into milk and mixed with sugar. (*Naisadha* XVI. 98, *Manas* III. 1594).

54. *Kṣīrayaṣṭikā*. A preparation of milk mentioned in the *Agni Purāṇa*. (163.10).

55. *Kulatṭhakāra*. Rice cooked with *Kulatṭha* pulse. (*Angv.*, p. 64).

56. *Kulmāṣa*. (*Gbughrī* in Hindi) Probably the early Dravidians used this preparation. It was a coarse gruel prepared by

stewing some inferior food grain and mixing it with treacle and oil. (Chand. Up. I. 10.2).

57. *Kāra*. Same as *Odana*. The Angv. also mentions rice cooked with oil, with mustard and with leaves. (Angv., p. 64).

58. *Kārcikā*. Solid part of inspissated milk. (Kauṭilya II. 29.26, Caraka Su. V. 9).

59. *Kārcikāḥ vikṛtiḥ*. (Hindi—*Phate hne dūdb ke kboe ke Miṭhāi*) Preparations from inspissated milk (Suśruta Su. 46.403).

60. *Ladduka*. Same as *Modaka*. (Naisadha XVI 103, Bhavisaṃyatta XII. 3).

61. *Lājāḥ*. (Hindi—*Dhān-ke khāl*). Parched rice. (Yaj. Sam. XIX. 13 etc. Also see *Madbulājāḥ*).

62. *Lājamaṇḍa*. A beverage prepared with parched rice (Av. V. 5.1).

63. *Loṣikā*. Delicious cakes prepared with wheat flour. Probably which we call *Lucai* in Hindi (Bharata III. 36-39).

64. *Madbugolaka*. Same as *Modakas*. (Vin. Mv. I. 43. VI. 25.3.)

65. *Madbulājāḥ*. Parched rice grains mixed with honey or *Guḍa*. (J. 476. etc. Kaut. II. 15. Ram. Ay. 91.56.)

66. *Madbumastaka*. (Hindi—*Pūranpoli*) A kind of cake prepared from wheat flour stuffed with honey and aromatic spices and cooked in ghee. Caraka (Su. 27. 265) calls *Madbusīrṣaka*.

67. *Madbuparka*. A mixture of curds, honey and clarified butter (Brhad. Up. VI. 4.46).

68. *Mājjikā*. Curds churned and mixed with sugar and aromatic spices (Mānasollāsa III. 1573).

69. *Maṇḍa*. A gruel prepared with one part of some cereal or pulse mixed with fourteen parts of water in which salt and spices were used. (Caraka Su. VI. 28).

70. *Maṇḍaka*. (Hindi—*Māṇḍe*) Loaf of bread prepared with powdered wheat or rice flour and mixed with salt, milk and clarified butter. It was baked in a potsherd. (Mānsollāsa III) The Angv. (p. 182) calls it *Maṇḍallaka* and the Divyāvadāna (p. 258) *Maṇḍalikā*. According to Śrikanṭhadatta same as *Madbumastaka*.

71. *Manīḥa*. A paste prepared with parched barley or rice meal mixed with honey water or curds. (Pāṇini VI. 3.60, Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.3, Caraka Su. VI. 28, Suśruta Su. 46.385).

72. *Matḥita*. Curds churned without water. (Mānasollāsa III, 1571).

73. *Modaka*. (Hindi-Laddū) Sweets balls prepared with the flour of rice or some pulse and sugar. (Mbh. Anu. 53.18 Angv., p. 182., Ram. Ay. 91.93, Suśruta Su. 46.396).

74. *Moreṇḍaka*. (Hindi-Muraṇḍi) A sweet prepared with inspissated milk in the shape of the eggs of a peacock. (Angv., p. 182).

75. *Mṛṣṭāṇṇa*. (Hindi-Svadiṣṭa bhojana) Savoury agreeable dishes. (Ram. Bal. 53.3, Bharata III. 36-39).

76. *Mudgaudana*. Rice boiled with *Mudga* pulse. (Sankh. Aran. XII. 8.)

77. *Murmura*. A sweet preparation of wheat flour, *guda* and some aromatic spices. (Brahma Purāṇa).

78. *Nāvanīta*. In the time of Suśruta it meant fresh butter churned out of milk (Su. 45.93). Later the word was used in the sense of butter in general.

79. *Odana*. According to Dr. Burrow the Dravidians used boiled rice. In the Rv. (VIII. 69.14) it has the sense of a mess but in the Av. (IV. 14.7) and later boiled rice. It is called *Udādana* in the Brhad. Up. (VI. 4.16.) Suśruta (Su. 46) mentions two varieties of *Odana* one in which rice was well washed (*dbanta*) and the other in which rice was not washed before cooking. *Odana* was prepared with clarified butter, meat, fruit, tubers, pulses and milk.

80. *Pālala*. A sweet preparation made of powdered sesamum and *guda* (Kāśikā VI. 2.135).

81. *Pāhulikā*. Cakes of wheat flour fried in oil which were not very hard. (Mānasollāsa III, 1385).

82. *Paiṣṭika Bhakṣya*. (Hindi-Cāval ke ate ki Miṣbāi) confectionary prepared from rice flour. (Suśruta Su. 46.401).

83. *Pakti*. Either same as *Puroḍāsa* or a liquid preparation as suggested by Dr. K.R. Potdar. (Rv. IV. 24.5 etc.).

84. *Palālaudana*. See *Tilaudana*.

85. *Pañcraudana*. Five kinds of pure food grains were mixed in this preparation.

86. *Paramāṇṇa*. It was prepared by boiling 4 parts of rice (in weight) with 12 parts of milk. Six parts of clarified butter

and 3 parts of *Guda* were added to it. (Angv., p. 220. Bhojana Kulūhala, p. 28).

87. *Parivāpa*. Same as *lājāḥ* (Yajurveda).

88. *Parpaṭa*. Very thin cakes prepared with the flour of some pulse. (Caraka Su. 27.271, Angv., p. 182).

89. *Patrikā*. Small circular cakes of wheat flour placed one over the other and fried in oil. (Mānasollāsa III 1385-86).

90. *Pāyasa*. (Hindi-*Khir*) Rice cooked with milk and mixed with sugar. (Gṛhya Sūtras).

91. *Payasyā*. Same as *Amikṣā*. (Tait. Bra. V. 11).

92. *Phenaka*. (Hindi-*Pheni*) Cakes of fine wheat flour coated with sugar. (Angv., p. 182. Suśruta Su. 46. 399).

93. *Piṇḍaka*. A sweet preparation similar to *Madbumastaka*. (Caraka Su. 27.265).

94. *Piṇyāka vikṛti*. A preparation with the viscous sediment of sesamum which was used as a dry vegetable. (Dalhaṇa on Suśruta Su. 46.382).

95. *Piṣṭaka*. Probably cakes made of powdered rice. (Pāṇini IV. 3.147).

96. *Polikā*. (a sweet cake, Hindi-*Pauli*) The Angv. (p. 182) calls it *Povalikā*. The Mānsollāsa mentions saline cakes baked on charcoals (*Āṅgārapolikā*) (III, 1375-83).

97. *Prṣadāṇya*. A mixture of curds and minute globules of butter in the Vedic times, later a mixture of clarified butter and curds. (Rv. X. 29.6, Tait. Sam. III. 2.62, Amara. Vaiśya.)

98. *Prthuka*. (Hindi-*Civḍā*) Rice seeds when moist are slightly parched and flattened by the strokes of a pestle. (Tait. Bra. III. 8.14.3, Baudh Gr. Su. I. 16.34). Caraka also mentions *Prthukas* prepared with barley. (Su. 27.272).

99. *Pāpa*. Same as *Apāpa*.

100. *Pāpalikā*. (Hindi-*Malpua*) Small cakes of rice or wheat flour fried in ghee with ghee filled inside and coated with guda and saffron. (Caraka. Su. 27.266).

101. *Pūraṇa*. Cakes stuffed with boiled and ground *mudga* pulse (*mudga vesavāra*) (Vāgbhaṭa I. Su. VII).

102. *Pūrikā*. (Hindi-*Pāpaṭi*). A cake prepared with gram flour and fried in oil.

103. *Puroḍāsa*. A large rice cake generally dipped in ghee before use (Mait. Sam. III. 10 and Av. IX. 6.12 etc.).

104. *Rāga*. A sweet liquid preparation from the juice of sour fruits such as tamarind, rose apple, *parūṣaka* and citrus medica. (Kāśyapa. Bhojana. 48).

105. *Rāgaśāḍava*. According to some authorities juice of mango fruit cooked with spices and *gūḍa* was called *Ragasadava*.

106. *Rājikārāddha*. A preparation of brassica with curds which had a sharp pungent taste (Naiṣadha XVI. 73).

107. *Rasālā*. Same as *Sikbariṇī*. (Ram Ay. 91.73. Mdh. Asv. 89.40 Susruta. Su. 46).

108. *Śāḍava*. A sweet preparation of sour fruits reduced to thick consistency. (Vin. IV. 2.25, Kāśyapa Bhojana. 48).

109. *Saktu*. (Hindi—*Sattū*) Flour of parched barley or rice grains. (Rv. X. 71.2. Tait. Bra. III 8.14. etc.). They were eaten both as a solid ball (*Pinḍi*) and a paste which could be licked (*Avalehika*). In Susruta's time *Saktus* were taken with acidic fruits, ghee, *gūḍa*, sugar, juice of sugarcane, grapes and honey mixed with water. (Susruta Su. 46.412).

110. *Sāmitā*. A preparation of powdered wheat flour stuffed with boiled and ground *Mudga* pulse. (Susruta Su. 46. 398).

111. *Samitānikā*. (Hindi—*Malāī*) cream of milk.

112. *Samiyāva*. (*Cūrmā* in Hindi) Sweet preparation made of wheat flour fried in ghee and mixed with milk and *gūḍa* (Pāṇini III. 3.23). Sometimes aromatic spices were added to it.

113. *Sara*. Originally cream in general, later the sense is restricted to cream of curds. (Sat. Bra. III. 3.3.2).

114. *Sarkarīputrikā*. (*Khand ke khilone* in Hindi) A doll of sugar. (Naiṣadha XVI 104).

115. *Saṣkulī*. (Hindi—*Khastā Pūrī*) A cake prepared with rice flour mixed with sesamum fried in ghee or oil. (Early Jain canon and Susruta Su. 46). The Bḥat. Saṁ. (76.9) mentions a variety of *Saṣkulikā* which excited amorous desires. The Angv. (p. 182) calls a variety *Dirghasaṣkulikā*.

116. *Saṣṭaka*. There were many varieties. One variety was prepared by mixing curds with sugar and aromatic spices. Seeds of pomegranate were added to make it more delicious. Susruta Su. 46.397.

117. *Sauviraka*. Probably in the sense of sour gruel in the Vin. (I.210) and later.

118. *Sevikā*. Thread like preparation from refined wheat flour. (Vilāsavatikathā).

119. *Sibakesara*. A sweet preparation mentioned in Antagaḍadasāo, p. 10.

120. *Sikharīṇī*. A very popular preparation of curds mixed with aromatic spices and sugar. Also see *Rasālā*. (Caraka Su. 27.276).

121. *Siṇḍākī vaṭaka*. Balls prepared by boiling some vegetables such as radish, pressing them to squeeze water and mixing them with aromatic spices. (Dalhaṇa on Suśruta Su. 46.382).

122. *Soblā* or *Subālī*. Cakes of wheat flour fried in oil on a very hot fire and coated with sugar. They were quite hard. (Bhavisayatta. XII. 3. Mānasollāsa III. 1384).

123. *Srikhaṇḍa*. Same as *Sikharīṇī*.

124. *Srikukkūṣa*. A preparation from oil cake which was acidic in taste. (Vag. II Cikitsā 12).

125. *Sṛtam*. Boiled milk as distinguished from fresh milk which is called *Pratidhuk*. (Sat. Bra. III. 3.3.2).

126. *Stbālīpāka*. Rice cooked with milk specially for sacrificial purposes. (Bṛh. Up. VI. 4.18, Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.5, 3.19).

127. *Sāpa*. Soups with pulses are mentioned in the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works. Suśruta (Su. 46.310) mentions that some times pulses were slightly parched before cooking.

128. *Suṣka Sāka*. Suśruta mentions preparations of sesamum, oil cake, sprouted pulses and *Siṇḍākī* under this category.

129. *Svastika*. A kind of cake prepared with barley flour. In shape it has a wider bottom and a pointed top. The sides are marked by signs. (Suśruta Uttaratāntra 60.33).

130. *Takra*. (Hindi—*Matthā*, Buttermilk) It contained three parts of curds with one part of water (Mānasollāsa. III 1572).

131. *Takraudana*. Boiled rice mixed with butter milk. (Angv., p. 220).

132. *Temana*. A soup prepared with curds. (Bhavi. XII. 3 Amara II. 9.44).

133. *Tilaudana*. Rice and sesamum boiled in water. (Bṛh. Up. VI. 4.17). Yaj. Sm. XI 287 calls it *Palalaudana*.

134. *Tilavikṛti*. A preparation from sesamum was used as a dry vegetable. (Dalhaṇa on Suśruta Su. 46.382).

135. *Tilaparpaṭa*. *Parpaṭas* prepared with sesamum are mentioned in the Āca. Su. II. 1.271.

136. *Udatvita*. A solution of curds with equal quantity of water. (Mānasollāsa III. 1571).

137. *Udumbara*. Balls of wheat flour stuffed with *Kāsāra* and fried in oil. (Mānasollāsa III. 1388.)

138. *Ulumbāḥ*. (Hindi-*Holā*) Beans of pulses such as *Mudga* and pea roasted on live charcoals. (Suśruta Su. 46.410).

139. *Uṣṇikā*. *Peyā* variety of *Yavāgū* (Pāṇini V. 27. Angv., p. 180).

140. *Utkārikā*. A sweet dish prepared with rice flour, milk, treacle and ghee. Aruṇadatta equates it with *Lapsikā*. (Caraka. Cikitsa 2. Bharata III. 36-39. Div. 500.23).

141. *Uttaribhaṅga*. Delicacies of food taken after the meals (Vin. II. 214. etc.). It is called *Pachiyauri* in the Padmāvata, pp. 284-285. It was a sweet dish which was served in the last.

142. *Vaidalāḥ*. Confectionary made of pulses such as *Mudga*. (Suśruta Su. 46.402) Bower MSS I. 24 uses the word in the sense of cooked pulses.

143. *Vājina*. Liquid part of a mixture of curds and boiled milk. (Sat. Bra. III. 3.3.2).

144. *Varṣopalagolaka*. Sweet balls of rice flour prepared by mixing sugar and the powder of cardamom and camphor. (Naiṣadha XVI. 100, Mānasollāsa III. 1413-1417).

145. *Vartikāḥ*. Sweets in the form of a roll. (Suśruta Su. 46).

146. *Vaṭaka*. (Hindi-*Baḍē*) Probably the early Dravidians used *Vaṭakas*. Balls prepared with *Māṣa* pulse soaked in water and ground on a piece of stone and then fried in oil or ghee (Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37). The Mānasollāsa mentions *vaṭakas* dropped in sour gruel (*kāñjika vaṭaka* III. 1404) and another variety called *Manavaṭaka* (III. 1405-1409).

147. *Vaṭikā*. (Hindi-*Badiān*) Balls prepared with *Māṣa* pulse soaked in water after removing the outer covering and grinding it on a piece of stone. Before the balls were prepared the ground paste was allowed to ferment for a few days (Mānasollāsa III. 1397-99).

148. *Vātya*. (Hindi-*Daliyā*) Caraka (Su. 27.263.) mentions porridge prepared with parched barley (*Yāvakāḥ vātyaḥ*).

149. *Veṣṭikā*. (Hindi—*Beḍavī*) A cake of wheat flour in which gram pulse mixed with aromatic spices is used as stuffing. (Mānsollāsa III. 1391-92).

150. *Vidalapāka*. A soup prepared with pulses of gram, *rājamaṣa*, *masūra*, *rājamudga* and slightly parched *āḍhakī*. The waters of asafoetida, turmeric and rock salt were added to it before use. (Mānsollāsa III 1359-69).

151. *Vimardaka*. A preparation of groats and clarified butter. (Vāgbhaṭa II, Uttara 39).

152. *Virūḍhaka*. Sprouted cereals which were used as dry vegetables and some sweets were also prepared from them. (Suśruta. Su. 46).

153. *Viṣṭārin*. Warm fresh milk with curds. (Av. IV. 34.1).

154. *Viśyanda*. A preparation of rice fried in ghee and mixed with treacle which was neither too thick nor too thin in consistency (Suśruta. Su. 46.398).

155. *Vitānaka*. A sweet mentioned in the Matsya Purāṇa 268.6.30.

156. *Vyañjana*. A condiment in the early Buddhist canon. But in the Jain canon it is used in the sense of seasoned food.

157. *Yāvaka*. A porridge prepared by pounding barley with a pestle and mortar to remove the chaff and then boiling the pearl grain in water or milk with sugar added to it. (Pāṇini V. 4.29).

158. *Yavāgu*. In the Yajurveda it seems to be a barley gruel. Rice gruel is mentioned as a wholesome and health giving article of food in the Mahāvagga VI. 24.5. A spiced variety (*Trikaṭuka*) was used in cases of illness (Vin. VI. 17.1). Pāṇini mentions two varieties of *yavāgu* one which was taken in liquid form (*peyā*) and the other which was licked as a paste (*vilepi*). The latter is called *Nakhamṭasa* by Pāṇini because it scorched the ends of fingers. Caraka mentions a *peyā* prepared with parched rice (*lājapeya*). The *Āṅgavijjā* (p. 179) mentions *yavāgu*s prepared with milk, clarified butter and oil. Suśruta (Su.46.376) means a gruel prepared with fruit juices which he calls *Khaḍa yavāgu*.

159. *Yūṣa*. A soup generally prepared by cooking cereals and pulses with buttermilk, but the Kāśyapa. Saṁ. (p. 250. 19.24)

also mentions *Yūṣas* prepared with fruits, vegetables and spices. (*Dalhaṇa* on *Suśruta*. Su. 46.376).

B.—Non-vegetarian Preparations.

1. *Angārāpakvam māṁsam*. Meat roasted on live charcoals. It is also called *Pratapta*. (Early Jain canon, *Mṛcchakaṭika*, p. 98).

2. *Antraśuṇṭhaka*. *Suṇṭhakas* prepared with entrails, well washed and roasted on spikes, mixed with salt. (*Manas* III. 1492-93).

3. *Bhāḍitraka*. Pieces of clean meat, bored with some holes which were filled with some spices, these pieces were roasted on spits and some spices were added. (*Manas* III. 1462-68).

4. *Bharjitamāṁsa*. Meat fried in ghee or oil. (*Suśruta* Su. 46.357-58, Early Jain canon).

5. *Bhṛṣṭa māṁsa*. Meat fried in ample quantity of clarified butter. (*Dalhaṇa* on *Suśruta*. Su. 46.353).

6. *Bhūṣikā*. *Vaṭakas* of pasted meat prepared with some roasted and spiced meat inside. (*Manas* III. 1476-81).

7. *Cakkaḷikās*. Were *Suṇṭhakas* cut in the form of palm leaves which were dropped in curds mixed with sugar and some aromatic spices. (*Manas*. III 1436-37).

8. *Dakalāvaṇika*. Meat soup prepared with salt, dryginger etc. (*Vagbhata* II. *Cikitsa*).

9. *Kandupācita Māṁsa*. Meat prepared with aromatic spices and covered with brassica powder which was roasted in a *kandu* (oven) till it was deep red in colour. (*Suśruta*. Su. 46.356).

10. *Kavaśandī*. Flesh of a sheep carved into the form of plums was mixed with some powdered spices, and grams and fried in oil with pieces of some vegetables. (*Manas* III 1433-36).

11. *Khaṇiṣka*. *Dalhaṇa* mentions it as a kind of *Vesavāra*.

12. *Kosalī*. *Vaṭakas* of pasted meat covered with grains of rice and roasted on fire. (*Manas*. III. 1476-82).

13. *Kṛṣṇapāka*. Flesh of sheep dressed in the shape of betelnuts and cooked with some blood, sour fruits and spices. (*Manas*. III. 1473-75).

14. *Māṁsaudana*. Meat cooked with rice (*Bṛhad. Up.* VI. 4.18). The *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhā* 49.9.) calls it *Pīṣitaudana*. (*Pat-añjali* II.3.1. p. 459 1.1.)

15. *Māmsabbūtaudana*. A tasty preparation of meat, rice, vegetables and spices cooked together. (Ram. Ay. 52.89).
16. *Māmsasiddha amla yavāgū*. A sour gruel prepared with meat. (Kāmasūtra, Suśruta. Su. 46.351).
17. *Maṇḍaliya*. Entrails of an animal filled with spices and marrow and roasted on charcoal. (Manas III. 1494-1498).
18. *Niṣṭhāna*. Tasty preparations with the flesh of goats and boars. (Rāmāyaṇa. Ay. 91.67 etc., Amara. Vaiśya 44).
19. *Pañcavarṇi*. Pieces of entrail and liver cooked with spices. (Manas III. 1488-91).
20. *Paripuṣkamāmsa*. (Seasoned meat) Kauṭilya puts seasoned meat in the category of vegetables. Raw meat was first fried in ghee then it was soaked in warm water and preserved in spices such as cummin. Its daily use is not recommended in the medical works. (Kauṭilya II. 15.22, Caraka. Su. V.10.)
21. *Piṣṭa*. Meat pasted, formed into balls and cooked with curds, juice of pomegranates, and aromatic spices. (Suśruta Su. 46.)
22. *Pradigbhamāmsa*. Meat cooked with milk and ghee. Sugar was added to make it more delicious. (Kāśyapa Saṁh., p. 359, Suśruta. Su. 46.353.)
23. *Pūrabhaṭṭāka*. Fruit of brinjal filled with pasted meat and fried in oil. (Manas. III. 1483-85).
24. *Puryalā*. Pieces of clean meat chopped in the form of *Amalaka* fruit cooked with spices, acid fruits, and *Suṣṭhaka*s and fumigated with garlic and asafoetida. (Manas III. 1457-61).
25. *Rasa*. Meat soup. Sometimes the expression *Māmsa rasa* is used. (Suśruta Su. 46. 376., Bower Mss. II. 14).
26. *Saurāva*. The upper part of meat soup. (Suśruta Su. 46.362).
27. *Siddhamāmsa*. Meat seasoned by frying in ghee with cummin, salt and pepper. (Early Jain canon. and Suśruta. Su. 46).
28. *Sūlya Māmsa*. Meat roasted on spikes. (Rv. I.162.11, Pāṇini IV.2.17, Uttara XIX. 70, Sakuntalā II).
29. *Suṣṭhaka*. Pieces were cut from the roasted body of a pig and again roasted on fire. The pieces were then mixed with the powder of salt and black pepper. (Manas. III. 1430-35).
30. *Ullūpta Māmsa*. Minced meat. (Suśruta. Su. 46.354).

31. *Vaṭṭimaka*. Pasted meat formed into the shape of ball and roasted on fire or fried in oil. (Manas. III. 1486-87).

32. *Vesavāra*. Boneless flesh boiled and pasted on a piece of stone with some aromatic spices. It was cooked in ghee with *guḍa*. (Mbh. Anu. 53. 17, Susruta Su. 46.364-65).

33. *Vimardaka*. A meat preparation made by dressing meat in various ways. (Caraka. Su. 27.276).

34. *Vṛṣya Pūpalikā*. An omelet made of clarified butter, rice flour and eggs of crocodile. (Caraka. Cikitsā II. 28-29).

35. *Yūṣaṇ*. Meat boiled in pots. (Rv. I. 162.13). A thin decoction of meat soup is called *accbarasaka yūṣa* in the Kāmasūtra (II. 10.15).

APPENDIX VIII BEVERAGES

A. Intoxicating Drinks

1. *Ākṣikī Sīdhu*. Prepared from *Ākṣa* fruit. (Caraka Su. 27.184).
2. *Ariṣṭa*. A tincture of medicines in which solid ingredients predominate. (Kaut. II. 25.21, Caraka Su. 2. 180 Suśruta Su. 45.194).
3. *Āsava*. An extract of *Kapittha*, (*Ferronia elephantidin*) inspissated juice of sugarcane and honey with some spices. In this drink the liquid part predominates. (Kauṭilya II. 25.19 and 29, Suśruta Su. 45.194).
4. *Avadātikā*. A variety of wine mentioned by Pāṇini V.4.3.
5. *Bakkaśa*. Solid ingredients of liquor devoid of liquid part. (Suśruta. Su. 45.181).
6. *Bijottarā*. A variety of liquor mentioned by Kaut. II. 25.
7. *Dhātakyābbhiṣuta*. Prepared from the flowers of *Dhātaki* (Caraka Su. 27.186).
8. *Divyā*. An intoxicating drink prepared from the bark of *Kadamba* tree.
9. *Gauḍī*. Intoxicating drinks prepared from *Gūḍa* (Manu XI.95). *Gauḍyāsava* was an *āsava* from *gūḍa*.
10. *Hārābhūṛaka*. A wine imported from Afghanistan. (Kaut. II. 25.25).
11. *Jagala*. Residue of *Surā*. (Caraka Su. 27.179. Suśruta Su. 45.180).
12. *Jāti*. An intoxicating drink prepared from *Jati* flowers. (Vipaka II. 19).
13. *Kādambarī*. Distilled from ripe *Kadamba* fruit. (Amara. II. 10. 40).
14. *Kālikā*. A variety of wine mentioned by Pāṇini (V.4.3).
15. *Kāpiṣāyanī*. A variety of wine imported from Afghanistan. (Pāṇini IV. 2.29, Kauṭilya II. 25.25).

16. *Kaṣāya*. Decoctions of rice meal and flowers. (Pāṇini VI.2.10).
17. *Kaula*. Prepared from jujube fruit. (Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83).
18. *Kharjūra*. Prepared from dates. (Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83, Suśruta Su. 45.174).
19. *Kilāla*. A sweet drink prepared from cereals. (Av. IV.11.10 etc.).
20. *Kobala*. It was prepared from parched barley flour.
21. *Kṛta Surā*. Fermented *surā*. (Ram. Sundara 11. 22-3).
22. *Mādhvi*. A liquor prepared from honey. (Manu XI. 95).
23. *Mādhavi*. An intoxicating drink prepared from *Madhūka* flowers. (Mbh. Virat. 16.3).
24. *Madhvāstava*. An *āstava* prepared from *Madhūka* flowers. (Ram. Sundara. 11.23, Caraka Su. 27.185).
25. *Madirā*. Cream of *Surā*. (Mbh. Santi. 24.20. Caraka. Su. 27.178).
26. *Madya*. All kinds of strong liquors. (Caraka. Su. 27.191).
27. *Maireya*. Spiced liquor with *gṛha* or sugar prepared from the bark of *meṣaiṅgi*. (*gynema sylvestre*). It was a favourite drink of the aristocratic circles. (Pāṇini VI. 2.70, Kaut. II. 25.22, Caraka Su. 27. 185.)
28. *Mārdvika*. Wine from grapes. It is called *Madhu* by Kauṭilya. (Kauṭilya II. 25.24, Suśruta Su. 45.172, Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83).
29. *Māsara*. A fermented liquor prepared with a mixture of mess of rice (*Syāmāka*) and some spices. From Dr. Burrow's studies we conclude that this variety was used by the ancient Dravidians. (Yajurveda, Katya. Sr. Su. XIX. 1.20.22).
30. *Medaka*. A variety of *surā* prepared from rice, yeast cake, honey and some spices. (Kauṭilya II. 25.7).
31. *Nārikelāsava*. Prepared from the juice of cocoanut. (Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83, Raghu. IV. 65).
32. *Paīṣṭi*. *Surā* prepared from rice or barley meal. (Manu XI. 94-95).
33. *Parisruta*. An intoxicating drink prepared either from flowers or by fermenting certain grasses (Av. XX. 127.7-8).

34. *Phalāsava*. An *āsava* prepared from fruits such as date fruit. (Ram. Sundara. 11.23).

35. *Prasannā*. A variety of *surā* prepared with rice meal and some spices which had often an oily substance. It is called cream of *surā*. (Kauṭilya. II. 25.18 Suśruta Su. 45.178).

36. *Puṣpāsava*. An *āsava* prepared from flowers such as those of *Madhūka*. (Ram. Sundara. 11.23).

37. *Rasottarā*. Prepared from the juice of sugarcane. (Kaut. II. 25).

38. *Sahakārasurā*. Prepared from the juice of mango fruit. (Kaut. II. 25).

39. *Sāmbhāriki*. A liquor in which the spices predominate e.g. *Maireya*. (Kaut. II.25).

40. *Sarkarāsava* or *Sarkarāsīdhu*. An *āsava* prepared from red sugar. (Ram. Sundara. 11.23. Caraka. Su. 27.181).

41. *Satan*. A strong intoxicating drink which did not lose its true nature even when diluted a hundred times. (Jambu. 20. p. 99 f.).

42. *Sīdhu*. Prepared with the juice of sugarcane and *dhātaki* flowers. It seems to have been a favourite drink of non Aryans. (Rama. Sundara. 11.26 and 32). Two kinds of *Sīdhus* are mentioned one prepared from boiled juice. (Caraka Su. 27.182) and the other from unboiled juice. (Caraka Su. 27.183).

43. *Surā*. Generally prepared with barley or rice flour, but sometimes *Madhūlikā* variety of wheat was also used. (Caraka Su. 27.188). It was an intoxicating drink of the common people in the Vedic period. (Rv. VIII. 2.12. etc.).

44. *Surāsava*. An *āsava* in which *surā* was used in place of water. (Caraka. Su. 27.185).

45. *Svetasurā*. Same spices were used in it as in preparing the *Prasannā* variety.

46. *Tālakka*. An intoxicating drink prepared from palm fruit. From Dr. Burrow's studies we conclude that the ancient Dravidians knew the art of toddy tapping. From the account of Pliny it is clear that palm liquor was used by Indians before the 1st century A.D. (Jiva III. 264).

47. *Tanka*. Prepared from the fruit of *Kapittha*. (Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83).

48. *Vārūṇī*. A strong liquor prepared by fermenting the juices of palm fruit and dates. It brought about unconsciousness as soon as it was drunk. (Ram Ay. 114.20).

B. Other Beverages

1. *Āsāma*. Scum of boiled rice. (Aca. I. 642).
2. *Āmalaka pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of *Āmalaka*. (Aca. I. 599).
3. *Amlikā pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of tamarind. (Aca. II. 1.264).
4. *Āmra pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of mango fruit. (Vin. I. 246, Aca. I. 599).
5. *Āmrātaka pāna*. Syrup prepared with the juice of hog plum. (Aca. I. 599).
6. *Anna rasa*. Drinks prepared from cereals or pulses. (Rama Ay. 54.18).
7. *Ciñcā pānaka*. A drink prepared by mixing milk with the juice of tamarind and straining the mixture in a clean piece of cloth. It was mixed with crystal sugar and powder of cardamom (Manas. III. 1581-84).
8. *Cocapāna*. Syrup prepared with the juice of plantain. (Vin. I. 246).
9. *Cūrṇābhivāsin*. Water boiled with the powder of cloves, camphor, saffron, sandal wood, *uśīra*, *citraka*, *kanikola*, *baritaki* and *karcūra*, all taken in equal quantities. (Manas. III 1622-23).
10. *Dādima pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of pomegranate. (Aca. I. 599).
11. *Dhānyāmla*. See vegetarian preparation.
12. *Drākṣāpānaka*. Syrup prepared with grape juice. (Caraka Su. 27).
13. *Gudodaka*. Water mixed with *guda*. (Mahāvagga VI. 27) Suśruta mentions two varieties, one acidic and the other sweet. (Su. 46.388).
14. *Hamśodaka*. Water boiled by the rays of the Sun during the day and cooled by the rays of the Moon at night. (Manas III. 1616).
15. *Himāpānaka*. A syrup prepared with snow is mentioned by Dalhana.
16. *Ikṣurasa*. The juice of sugarcane. (Caraka Su. 27).

17. *Jambū pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of rose apple. (Vin. I. 246).

18. *Kāñjika*. Sour gruel was prepared from cereals. (Caraka Su. 27).

19. *Kapittba pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of *Kapittba* fruit. (Aca. I. 599).

20. *Karira pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the fruit of *Karira*. (Aca. I. 599).

21. *Karkandbu pānaka*. It was prepared by pounding berries, treacle, black pepper, saffron, cardamom and mixing it with the juice of *Jāti* flowers. (Bhela. Sam. p. 218).

22. *Kāfmarya pānaka*. To make this *pānaka* juices of *kāf-marya*, *madhūkā*, *parūṣaka*, grapes and pomegranate were mixed with the powder of *kuṭaja*, *madhūka*, *lodhra*, *mañjiṣṭha*, cardamom and long pepper. Water was added to the mixture. (Bhela. Sam. p. 219).

23. *Khaṇḍapānaka*. Syrup made from raw sugar. (Suśruta Su. 46.389).

24. *Kharjūra pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of dates. (Caraka Su. 27.277, Aca. Su. II. 1.264, Vag. II. 3.32).

25. *Kola pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of jujube. (Aca. Su. II. 1.264. Caraka. 27.277).

26. *Lakuca pānaka*. Juice of *Lakuca* fruit. (Vayu. 46.9).

27. *Madbu pānaka*. Syrup prepared by mixing water with honey. (Vin. I. 246, Caraka Su. 27.278, Vag. II. Su. III. 32).

28. *Mātulinga pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of *Citrus medica*. (Aca. II. 1.266).

29. *Moca pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of coconut fruit. (Vin. I. 246, Aca. II. 1.264).

30. *Mṛdvikā pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of grapes. (Vin. I. 246, Aca. Su. II. 1.264, Suśruta. Su. 46.388) Caraka calls it *Drākṣā pānaka*.

31. *Nārikela pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of Coconut fruit. Aca. I. 599.

32. *Nimbuka pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of lemon. (Caraka. Su. 27).

33. *Pañcāmṛta*. The juices of any three of coconut, mango, jack and banana fruits mixed with honey and sugar. (Baudh. Gr. Sces. Su., p. 277).

34. *Pañcadāśa*. A strong mixture of *Soma* juice. Rv. X. 27.2.

35. *Pañca sāra pānaka*. A drink prepared by boiling water with five spices such as ginger, *Asana* and *Nāgarāmoṭhā*. (Vag. II. III. 31.) Someśvara (Manas III. 1622-23) calls a similar drink *Cārṇādhivāsin*.

36. *Parūṣaka pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of *Parūṣaka* fruit. (Vin. I. 246, Caraka Su. 27.278).

37. *Pinḍavāsa*. Water prepared by pouring into it a clay ball stuffed with some spices after roasting it in the live charcoals of *khadira* wood. (Manas III. 1619-20).

38. *Pratipāna*. A drink which helps the digestion of food. (Ram. Ay. 91.78).

39. *Puṣpavāsa*. Water fumigated with the juice of mango fruit, and flowers of *Pāṭala*, *utpala* and *camapaka*. (Manas III. 1621).

40. *Rāga*. See vegetarian preparations. (Vag. II. 6.30).

41. *Rasālā*. See vegetarian preparations. (Vag. II. 6.30).

42. *Ṣaḍava*. See vegetarian preparations. (Vag. II. 6.30).

43. *Sarkarāpānaka*. Water mixed with sugar. (J. I. 339, Suśruta Su. 46. 388-89).

44. *Sāluka pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice extracted from the roots of waterlily. (Vin. I. 246).

45. *Sauvira*. Same as *Dhānyāmla*. (Aca. I. 642).

46. *Soma juice*. The *Soma* plant grew on the mountains especially on the mountain Maujavanta which is a part of the Himalayas. It was obtained with difficulty in the later Vedic period hence many substitutes were suggested. Some scholars have explained *Soma* juice as an intoxicating drink like liquor but the evidence before us does not justify the conclusion. *Soma* juice was mixed with milk, with curds and parched barley flour but liquor is never mixed with these things. Prof. J. C. Ray was of opinion that *Soma* plant was nothing but *Bhang* because both are annuals coming up at the beginning of the rainy season, both have shining leaves and the method of preparation of both is the same and effects of the drink on the consumer remarkably agree. In spite of so many similarities pointed by Prof. Ray, the identification seems hardly convincing in view of the fact that the plant had become almost extinct even in the later

Vedic period and the intoxicating effect which *Bhang* has on the consumer is no where described in the Vedic literature. Watt in the Dicy. of Eco. Products of India Vol. II., p. 246-47 in 1889 had identified the plant with *Ephedra* and Dr. J.M. Unwala has, on the basis of Vedic and Avestan references, come to the same conclusion. Soma juice was a favourite drink of the Vedic Indians (Rv. IX etc.) and occupied an important place in the Vedic ritual even in the Dharmasūtras.

47. *Tilodaka*. Water mixed with sesamum (Patañjali on VI. 2.96).

48. *Tuṣṭodaka*. Water mixed with chaff (Aca. I. 642).

49. *Vārkeṣa*. The juice of the fruit of cocoanut. (Mānasollāsa III. 1615).

50. *Yavodaka*. Water mixed with barley grains. (Aca. I. 642).

51. *Yāṣa*. Juices of *Kapitttha*, *bilva*, jujube, grapes, pomegranate and mango were cooked to prepare soups (Kas. Sam. p. 250.46).

APPENDIX IX

BOOKS ON FOOD AND DRINKS CONSULTED BY THE AUTHOR

1. Ancient Indian life by J. C. Ray, Chapter II Calcutta, 1948.
 2. Annapāna Vidhi ascribed to Suṣena. Tanjore, 1950.
 3. Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya by Vāgbhaṭa II Sūtra, Chapter V, VI and VIII.
 4. Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha by Vāgbhaṭa I Sūtra Ch. VI and VII.
 5. Bhojana Kutūhala—by Raghunātha.
 6. Caraka Saṁhitā with the commentary of Cakrapāṇidatta, Sūtra Ch. 27.
 7. History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II Part II. Ch. XXII by P. V. Kane, Poona, 1941.
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APPENDIX XII

CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT SOURCES

1.	Indus Valley Civilization	C. 3000 B.C.
2.	Maheshwar Nevada Toli Culture ..	C. 1200 B.C.
3.	Hastinapur Culture	C. 800 B.C.
4.	The Rgveda	C. 2000 B.C.
5.	The Yajurveda, the Atharvaveda, the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads	Before 800 B.C.
6.	Sūtras and Pāṇini	800 B.C.—300 B.C.
7.	Early Buddhist Canon	C. 500 B.C.
8.	Kauṭilya	C. 300 B.C. to 100 A.D.
9.	Patañjali	C. 150 B.C.
10.	The Rāmāyaṇa, The Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti	4th Cent. B.C. to 4th Cent. A.D.
11.	Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Sūtra and Saṁhitā of Caraka.	After the Christian Era 1st or 2nd Cent. A.D.
12.	Kāśyapa Saṁhitā Bhojanakalpa	2nd Cent. B.C.—C.400 A.D.
	Khila Sthāna	300-400 A.D.
13.	Yājñavalkya Smṛti and Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra	100 A.D.—300 A.D.
14.	Bṛhaspati Smṛti	100—400 A.D.
15.	Suśruta Saṁhitā	C. 4th Cent. A.D.
16.	Aṅgavijjā	C. 4th Cent. A.D.
17.	Bower. Mss... ..	C. 3rd or 4th Cent. A.D.
18.	Vāyu and Viṣṇu Purāṇa	3rd or 4th Cent. A.D.
19.	Kāmasūtra	C. 450 A.D.
20.	Early Jain Canon	Before 5th Cent. A.D.
21.	Sabara	200—500 A.D.
22.	Laṅkāvatārasūtra	Prior to 443 A.D.
23.	Varāhamihira Bṛhatsaṁhitā ..	505—587 A.D.
24.	Kātyāyana Smṛti	400—600 A.D.
25.	Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha	C. 625 A.D.

26.	Yuan Chwang and Bāna's Harṣa-carita and Kādambari	.. ..	606—648 A.D.
27.	Kāśikā	.. ..	662 A.D.
28.	Raviṣeṣa-Padmā Purāṇa	.. ..	678 A.D.
29.	Itsing	.. ..	671—695 A.D.
30.	Vakpati-Gauḍavaho	.. ..	725 A.D.
31.	Kumārila-Tantravārtika	.. ..	650—750 A.D.
32.	Kāmandaka Nītisāra	.. ..	700—750 A.D.
33.	Pauma Caria	.. ..	677—760 A.D.
34.	Kuṭṭanimatam	.. ..	755—786 A.D.
35.	Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu	.. ..	Before 800 A.D.
36.	Varāha Purāṇa	.. ..	C. 800 A.D.
37.	Aṣṭaṅga Hr̥daya	.. ..	C. 850 A.D.
38.	Skanda Purāṇa	.. ..	600—900 A.D.
39.	Later Smṛtis	.. ..	600—900 A.D.
40.	Agni Purāṇa	.. ..	800—900 A.D.
41.	Rājaśekhara	.. ..	C. 900 A.D.
42.	Medhātithi on Manu	.. ..	C. 900 A.D.
43.	Nala Campu	.. ..	915 A.D.
44.	Yaśastilaka-Campu	.. ..	959 A.D.
45.	Vāmana Purāṇa	.. ..	9th or 10th Cent. A.D.
46.	Vṛnda	.. ..	9th or 10th Cent. A.D.
47.	Nala—a writer on cookery..	.. ..	Before 1000 A.D.
48.	Dhanapāla-Bhavisayattakahā	.. ..	10th Cent. A.D.
49.	Garuḍa Purāṇa	.. ..	10th Cent. A.D.
50.	Alberuni	.. ..	973—1048 A.D.
51.	Ksīrasvāmī on the Amarakośa	.. ..	1050 A.D.
52.	Mitrākṣarā on the Yājñavalkya Sm.	.. ..	1070—1100 A.D.
53.	Dalhaṇa on Suśruta	.. ..	C. 1100 A.D.
54.	Kumārapāla carita	.. ..	C. 1100 A.D.
55.	Aparārka on Yāj. Smṛti	.. ..	1125 A.D.
56.	Someśvara-Mānasollāsa	.. ..	1127 A.D.
57.	Padma Purāṇa and Brahma Purāṇa	900—1200 A.D.
58.	Naisadha carita	1150—1200
59.	Sandesa Rāsaka	12th Cent.

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